TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE MADRIGAL
in Sixteenth Century Spain:
A Case Study of the Manuscript MadM 6829

by

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Note on musical examples:
All transcriptions are taken from Miguel Querol Gavaldá, *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*. Monumentos de la Música Española, 8-9. A discussion of performance practice and the addition of *musica ficta* to modern transcriptions of Renaissance music is beyond the scope of this thesis. Therefore, any musica ficta found in the musical examples is taken directly from Querol's editorial suggestions in the modern edition of the manuscript.

TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The completion of this study was assisted by several individuals whom I would like to acknowledge here. Thanks must first go to my principal supervisor Dr Anne-Marie Forbes for her always practical advice, patience and determination to keep the study on track. I am also very grateful to my co-supervisor Dr Heather Monkhouse for her unwavering encouragement and availability to discuss any issues at a moments notice. Finally, I owe a great debt of thanks to Prof. John Griffiths for his expertise in the area of Spanish Renaissance music and generosity with his time.

ABSTRACT

Rachel Meyers, "Toward an understanding of the madrigal in sixteenth century Spain: a case study of the manuscript MadM 6829." MMus, University of Tasmania, 2008.

This thesis examines how the mid sixteenth century madrigal phenomenon was perceived and interpreted by Spanish composers through a close reading of the text-music relationship in the manuscript collection MadM 6829, commonly referred to as *Cancionero de la Casa de Medinaceli,* a title taken from the modern edition edited by Miguel Querol Gavaldá. MadM 6829 contains a significant number of musical settings of the wildly popular Italianate poetic forms that were intimately connected with the madrigal, but although the manuscript has been in modern edition for almost sixty years, the collection has received little scholarly attention. No previous study has considered the contents of the manuscript in relation to the contemporary innovations that changed the way European composers viewed the rhetorical power of music and its expression of text. This study helps to clarify the process by which the Spanish composers may have taken the text as a basis for musical composition and identifies the features of the text that were given primacy in determining compositional procedure.

The study begins with an introduction to the broad repertory of Spanish musical settings of Italianate poetry during the sixteenth century, and moves to establish the position of the manuscript within the historical tradition of secular song in Spain. The remainder of the thesis focusses exclusively on MadM 6829, examining the text-music relationship of the Italianate settings in two ways: (1) a consideration of the particular types of poetry that were chosen for musical settings; and (2) an analysis of the formal and stylistic devices that composers used to express important textual features.

This thesis challenges the assumption that the Spanish settings of sixteenth century Italianate poetry were less musically expressive than contemporary Italian settings. Indeed, the entire basis by which composers interpreted poetry and important poetic features seems to have differed from the culturally more familiar Italian tradition. Typically, the composers chose to express important textual details with direct and immediately audible musical manipulations of rhythm, melody, or musical texture. Additionally, there are several cases in which composers expressed emotional climaxes of the text or other formal poetic considerations with more complex and subtle structural musical manipulations. This study demonstrates that although the musical expressionexpression of text did not involve the profound harmonic developments that characterized the Italian madrigal phenomenon, this restraint in musical language did not prevent the composers from employing distinctive and effective models of musical expressivity.

Chapter 1:

MadM 6829 and Italianate Secular Song in Renaissance Spain

The manuscript MadM 6829 occupies a pivotal position in the history of secular polyphonic art-song in Spain. It contains about one hundred polyphonic settings of vernacular Spanish texts, and is the largest surviving manuscript collection of secular Spanish polyphonic settings that date from the latter two- thirds of the sixteenth century. The majority of the texts were Castilian language adaptations of Italian sonnets, *canzone* and other poetic forms with hendecasyllabic lines, forms most often associated with the fourteenth century Italian poet Francesco Petrarch (1307-1374). The earliest and best-known Spanish protagonists to write Italianate genres included Juan Boscán (ca. 1490-1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1503-1536), and whose poems were included in the manuscript. MadM 6829 is one of only a handful of extant sources to contain a significant number of musical settings of Castilian language Italianate poetry, a literary phenomenon that would rise to be one of the most influential of the sixteenth century.[1]

Many of the poets and composers represented in MadM 6829 travelled in the humanist circles of Seville, and most spent their professional lives in Andalusia.[2] Notable Sevillian composers include the brothers Francisco and Pedro Guerrero (1528-1529; c1520-?), Rodrigo de Ceballos (c1525-1581), Diego Garçón, and Juan Navarro (c1530-1580), all of whom held positions at the cathedral of Seville or other Andalusian religious institutions.[3]

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[1] On the contents and background of the manuscript, see *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, ed. Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la Música Española 8/9 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949-50), 1:1-30. The title of the modern edition is taken from the ducal library where it was first located by modern scholars. Additionally, there are about 70 settings with sacred Latin texts that were not included in the monograph.

[2] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, "El humanismo musical de la Escuela Sevillana del Renacimiento," *Anuario Musical* 31-32 (1976-77): 51-64.

[3] See Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961).

Beyond the inclusion of such notable composers, however, little is known of how the manuscript may have been associated with Sevillian humanist circles, or noble families supporting or travelling in the same circles.

Despite its place in the history of Spanish secular song, MadM 6829 has never commanded significant scholarly interest. Little is known of the manuscript's origins: how and where it was used, who performed from it, nor the reasons it was compiled. Although works by several prominent sixteenth century Andalusian composers have been identified, the majority of the settings remain anonymous. The only major study to have been undertaken on the vernacular settings in MadM 6829 appears in the prefatory matter of Miguel Querol Gavaldá's 1949/50 modern edition.[4] However, Querol's analysis barely scratches the surface of the musical settings; the majority of the prefatory study is comprised of a source description, biographies of identified composers, and a brief commentary on the texts. He did not include any musical analyses, and the few descriptions of musical characteristics are limited to the first page of the preface.[5]

In a study of the musical settings of neo-Petrarchan poetry, Don Randel used the surviving musical settings of Garcilaso 's poetry to give a considered introduction to the text-music relationship of the repertory; specifically, he questioned what changes in musical style the poetic novelties of the Italianate genres may have instigated. The differences between the Italianate genres and older Spanish courtly poetry repertory were profound: Italianate forms used freely rhyming seven- and eleven-syllable lines, increased use of vivid poetic imagery, and intense emotional and sensory descriptions, whereas the older Spanish poetry was characterized by eight-syllable lines, strict rhyme scheme, fewer adjectives in poetic imagery, and a mode of expression grounded in reason rather than emotion. Randel

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[4] Querol, ed. *Cancionero de Medinaceli,* 1:9-56. The Latin settings remain unpublished in modern notation.

[5] Querol, ed. *Cancionero de Medinaceli,* 1:9.

identified that Italianate poetry selected for musical setting actually contained fewer points of difference with traditional Spanish poetry than the wider repertory of Italianate poetry, and suggested that composers may have preferred to set poetry more similar to that with which they were accustomed.[6] One of the aims of this study is to test Randel's hypothesis by investigating the entire repertory of Italianate poetry in MadM 6829 (see Chapter 2 of this thesis). Besides Randel and Querol, other scholars have mentioned the importance of the manuscript, but not devoted significant study to the musical settings as a group.[7]

Typically, the settings were through-composed, with unique, short musical phrases for each line of poetry. The ends of lines were usually punctuated by a clearly marked cadence, and pronounced alternations between homophony and polyphony were frequent. During the half-century that such works were in circulation, little or no difference in style seems to have developed other than that attributable to the tastes and abilities of individual composers, and these later settings, too, have been little studied in recent times.[8] Indeed, the apparent lack of stylistic innovation in the MadM 6829 settings may have stifled scholarly interest.

This study is designed to provide a starting point for the understanding of the musical response to Italianate poetry in Spain. The central research question focusses on how the novelties of the poetic phenomenon may have been considered and exploited by the composers setting the Italianate genres, using the MadM 6829 settings as a case study. In attempting to give a nuanced view of the musical settings, this study first considers the

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[6] Don Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony and the poetry of Garcilaso," *The Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (January, 1974): 61-79.

[7] The studies analyze particular settings from MadM 6829, but only in reference to other research interests, and all analyses are quite brief. See Rosanne King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* of Francisco Guerrero and the tradition of sacred song in Renaissance Spain" (PhD. diss., University of Toronto, 2004),133 and 241-243; and Paul Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* (Warren, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997),21-22; John Griffiths, "The Transmission of Secular Polyphony," in *Encomium Musicae: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert J. Snow,* ed. David Crawford & G. Grayson Wagstaff (New York: Pendragon Press, 2002).

[8] King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales,*" 146.

sociopolitical and literary contexts before investigating specific text-music relationships with close readings of the poetry and music by giving selected examples. Although this type of contextual approach has been standard in musicological circles since the 1980s, until now this manuscript has not been investigated from such a perspective. The historical context outlined below has a scope limited to facts and phenomena directly relevant to sixteenth century musical Spanish culture, and more specifically, the music and poetry in MadM 6829.[9]

The Petrarchan revival as a literary movement during the sixteenth century inspired a great number of poets to adopt the verse types and aesthetics of fourteenth century Italian poet Francesco Petrarch; in this sense, they are described as *Petrarchists,* and their works are *neo-Petrarchan*. Specifically, the term encompasses Petrarch's distinctive elegance of aesthetic, his themes, use of oxymoron, and distinctive mode of expression. In Spain, the neo-Petrarchan movement can be clearly defined as beginning with the posthumous publication of Boscán and Garcilaso in 1543, and ending towards the middle of the seventeenth century in the works of Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561-1627) and Francisco de Quevedo (1580-1645). However, the literary changes that the Spanish Petrarchists embraced exceeded simple imitation of Petrarch: the poets imitated classical models, too, and their Petrarchan imitations were different in motivation and character to the Italian Petrarchists. To save confusion, then, and following the lead of several Spanish poetry scholars, *Italianate*

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[9] For a wider perspective on Spanish history, see, for example, Henry Kamen, *Empire: How Spain became a world power,* 1492-1763 (New York: Harper Collins, c.2003); *Spain 1469-1714: A Society of Conflict* (London and New York: Longman, second edition, 1991); John Huxtable Elliott, *Imperial Spain,* 1469-1716 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963); *Spain: A History,* edited by Raymond Carr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

is used to identify the type of Spanish poetry that imitated Italian poetic forms, aesthetics, and expressions .[10]

Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries experienced a flourishing of literature, art and music. During this time, Miguel de Cervantes produced his famous *Don Quixote de la Mancha*, painters such as Diego Velázquez rose to international prominence, and composers such as Tomás Luis de Victoria, Francisco de Morales, and Francisco Guerrero wrote musical settings that were considered to be some of the best sacred works of the Renaissance.[11] Such extraordinary achievements continued well into the seventeenth century, after which time, artistic production, along with Spain's fortunes, went into decline.[12] Parallel artistic movements mark the Renaissance histories of Italy, the Low Countries, and other Western European nations.[13]

Humanism was a phenomenon which represents the intellectual and cultural aspect of the Renaissance, which began around the turn of the fourteenth century and ended towards the turn of the seventeenth.[14] Renaissance humanism was a universal European phenomenon,

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[10] On the neo-Petrarchan or Italianate genres in Spain and their place in the Spanish literary tradition, see R.O. Jones, *The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* A Literary History of Spain (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1971); Arthur Terry, *Seventeenth Century Spanish Poetry: The Power of Artifice* (Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993). Also, see Ignacio Navarrete, *Orphans of Petrarch* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

[11] On the Spanish Golden Age in the creative arts, see, amongst others, Alberto Porqueras Mayo, *Estudios sobre Cervantes y la Edad de Oro* (Alcalá de Henares [Spain]: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos, c2003); Jonathan Brown, *The Golden Age of Painting in Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Robert Murrell Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

[12] On the rise and fall of the Spanish empire see Elliott, *Imperial Spain.*

[13] The Spanish rise in artistic production started quite some time later than the Italian Renaissance, which is generally considered to have begun in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth centuries. For the original definition of the key terms, "Renaissance" and "humanism" in modern scholarship, see Jakob Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (New York: Phaidon, 1950); and for a review of the twentieth century reaction against Burckhardt's account of Renaissance humanism, see William Bouwsma, "The Renaissance and the Drama of Western History," *The American Historical Review,* 84, no. 1 (February 1979): 1-15. For a discussion of the term as applied to music, see James Haar, "The Concept of the Renaissance," *European Music 1520-1640,* ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006), 20-37.

[14] Donald R. Kelley, *Renaissance Humanism* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 2.

although it originally had an Italian focus. Whilst "in a very general sense Renaissance humanism was a form of civic ideology," it was not a philosophy, as many have assumed, that rivaled and displaced scholasticism during the Renaissance.[15] Although Renaissance humanism itself is difficult to define, and subject to academic debates on the nature of what it represented, the advances made in intellectual and cultural circles within this period are undeniable, and profoundly affected artistic, literary, and musical cultures. In Spain, the humanist revitalization of classical thought was largely restricted to courtly circles, as opposed to Italy, where it diffused more rapidly through civic networks.[16] As a result, the impact of humanism in Spain was less widely distributed than in other countries.

Humanist thought changed how musical composers, performers and theorists approached their art-form. Although musical humanism did not come into full force until the middle of the sixteenth century, changes in the perception of music had already begun much earlier in the century. According to Fenlon, such changes profoundly affected the development of musical culture of Western Europe:

> ...It was largely because of the impact of humanism that music came to be thought of not as a mathematical science, which is how it had been considered during the Middle Ages, but rather as an art, moreover an art which had at its core an intimate relationship to the classical ideal - which had never been entirely lost sight of during the medieval period - of the power and authority of rhetorical eloquence. In this process music carne to be valued for what was actually written rather than for its symbolic significance as number in sound. This one central aspect of musical humanism was the connection between words and music, and it is in this sense that it carne to have a considerable practical effect upon the art of composition.[17]

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[15] Kelly, *Renaissance Humanism,* 4; Charles G. Nauert, Jr, *Humanism and the Culture of Renaissance Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 4.

[16] Kamen, *Spain,* 61. Kamen contrasts what he describes as "court humanism" (which was limited to Spanish royal and aristocratic circles), to the broader "civic humanism" of Italy, attributing the smaller diffusion of such thought to the restricted scope of government at the time, and lack of a fixed capital city.

[17] Iain Fenlon, "Music and Society," in *The Renaissance: from the 1470s to the end of the 16th century,* edited by Iain Fenlon (London, Macmillan, 1989), 2.

That is to say, the most significant way in which humanist thought affected musical culture during the sixteenth century was the shift of perception of music from a technical science to an expressive art-form. Music began to be perceived as an aesthetic experience rather than a mathematical scheme, thus increasing the demand for an expressive coordination of text and music.

The rapid proliferation and development of the Italian madrigal is, at least in large part, attributable to the increased emphasis on the text in musical composition.[18] Of course, the idea of a text-based compositional approach was not new, since, as Todd Borgerding noted, "writers on music throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance echoed Plato's rule that 'the melody and rhythm will depend upon the words."[19] It was only around the middle of the sixteenth century, however, that progressive music theorists were presenting the fundamental principle that music should act as the servant to the meaning of the text. For example, in 1555, Spanish music theorist Juan Bermudo advised budding composers: "... everything said in the text that can be imitated in music, one should imitate in the composition," and in the same year, Italian music theorist Nicola Vicentino went even further, proclaiming that the sole purpose of polyphonic composition was to express the meaning of the text.[20]

The growth of bourgeois culture, the rise of the printing industry, and the religious crises of the sixteenth century significantly affected musical culture. Due to their newly acquired affluence and leisure time, the new bourgeoisie actively participated in amateur, domestic music-making. Middle-class tastes and consumption contributed to the immense popularity of the early madrigal. The advent of the printing press increased the availability of

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[18] For a collection of excerpts from theorists writing on music and text, see Don Harrán, *Word Tone Relations in Musical Thought From Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Neuhausen Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1986).

[19] Todd Borgerding, "The Motet and Spanish Religiosity, ca. 1550-1610," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1997), 2.

[20] Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de instrumentos* (Osuna: Juan de Leon, 1555) and Nicola Vicentino, *L'Antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica*, both cited in Borgerding, "The Motet," 214-229.

printed music, and was accompanied by increased consumption of notated music from the domestic music-making market.[21]

The religious upheaval of the sixteenth century was marked by two major events: the Augustinian monk Martin Luther's proclamation of his '95 Theses' in 1517, and the deliberations of the Council of Trent. Both events significantly marked the musical landscape of Western Europe, affecting both the place and character of music in religious life.

On a more local level, the increasing economic and political power that the Spanish kingdom held may also have contributed to the "Golden Age" of Spanish culture. In 1469, Isabella, the half-sister of King Henry IV of Castile, was married to Ferdinand, the son of King Juan II of Aragon. After a period of political uncertainty, Isabella was eventually crowned Queen of Castile in 1474, and Ferdinand soon succeeded as the King of Aragon in 1479. Their joint rule, combined with their fierce religiosity, earned them the title of the "Catholic Monarchs." In 1480, Isabella issued the first commission of the Inquisition, although it was to be several years before the Spanish Inquisition grew to its full strength. The monarchs eventually obtained oaths of loyalty from various Spanish kingdoms that their son, Prince Juan, would be recognized as the legitimate heir to the realms, and thus secured the future of the united kingdom of Spain. By the mid-1490s, Ferdinand and Isabella had already established a pattern of support for local musicians and composers in the hope of fostering a "national music" akin to their vision of a unified nation.[22]

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[21] Fenlon, "Music and Society," 1-62. Fenlon discusses in detail the societal phenomena during the sixteenth century that demonstrably and significantly affected musical culture in Europe. For an introduction to European print culture during the sixteenth century, see *Print and Culture in the Renaissance: Essays on the Advent of Printing in the Renaissance*, ed. G.P. Tyson and S.S. Wagonheim (Newark: University of Delaware Press; London: Associated University Presses, c1986); Tim Carter, "Music-Printing in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Century Florence," *Early Music History* ix (1989): 27-72; and Jane Bernstein, *Music Printing in Renaissance Venice: the Scotto Press* 1539-72 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[22] Kenneth Kreitner, *The Church Music of Fifteenth Century Spain*, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 2 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004),159. On the Catholic Monarchs and music, especially see Tessa Wendy Knighton, "Music and Musicians at the Court of Fernando of Aragon, 1474-1516" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1983).

The year 1492 is a landmark in Spanish history due to several important events that took place. First, the war against the Moors was won by the Catholic armies, as Granada, the final Muslim stronghold in the Iberian peninsula, fell on January 2, 1492. The monarchs had focussed their attention on the Moorish kingdom of Granada over ten years earlier, and the victory heralded the beginning of a series of campaigns against Muslims beyond the Iberian peninsula. Second, an Inquisitional decree exiled Jews from Spain; they were to leave within four months without taking gold, silver, or precious stones, or risk the penalty of death. It was a dramatic step towards the Catholic Monarchs' vision of a religiously homogenous nation, which they deemed necessary for the assured future of the Spanish nation. Third, Spaniard Rodrigo Borgia was made Pope in Rome, securing a powerful ally within the church for Spain. Fourth, 1492 marks the discovery of the New World by Christopher Columbus, an event that irrevocably linked America with Europe and marked the beginning of Spanish imperial rule, creating new horizons for the newly united nation. Finally, in 1492, the first grammar of any European vernacular language was published in Castilian, *La Gramática de la Lengua Castellana*, by Antonio de Nebrija.[23] In this publication, Castilian was portrayed as the supreme vernacular, fit for a rapidly expanding empire.

The events of 1492 helped the Catholic Monarchs to establish themselves firmly on the international scene. Ferdinand proved a competent diplomat, in 1495 allying Spain and his empire with the Holy League against the French invasion of Naples. The Holy League was the first of many of Ferdinand's diplomatic triumphs, and in 1496, the French were expelled from Italy entirely. In 1500, Ferdinand negotiated with the new King of France, Louis XII, over a joint division of the kingdom of Naples, and in 1501 the allied troops invaded the region. However, by 1503 the Spaniards were occupied with driving the French out from

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[23] Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la lengua castellana*, edited by Antonio Quilis (Madrid: Editora Nacional, 1981).

their agreed territory, and in 1504 France officially recognized Ferdinand's sovereignty over Naples. After this point, Ferdinand committed Spain to an aggressive foreign policy, focussing on the containment of French interests, dominance of the western Mediterranean, and repulsion of Turkish advances. Christopher Columbus' expansion of the Spanish empire to include the New World only solidified Spain's status as a superpower, and in 1514 Ferdinand proclaimed: "The crown of Spain has not for over seven hundred years been as great or as resplendent as it now is." [24]

Whilst Spain dominated Europe politically, the cultural products of Italy and Flanders were assimilated into Spanish culture. Ferdinand established a diplomatic network that stretched from England across Western Europe and down through Italy to Naples, and the Spanish viceroys and governors who lived in those regions acquired cosmopolitan foreign objects and assimilated ideas, many of which would eventually be imported into Spain. Art which was produced in other parts of Europe was highly prized in Spain, and could be found in palaces, noble households and ecclesiastical institutions.[25] During the sixteenth century, foreign artists were frequently brought to Spain for periods of employment, much to the dissatisfaction of many local artists. The late-seventeenth century painter Antonio Palomino wrote a series of biographies featuring lauded painters from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in it, he bitterly complained about the attitude of patrons to Spanish artists:

> It is to our nation's discredit that we bring to the public forum of the world the lives of our eminent artists, since most of them lived in extremely straitened circumstances, and those who attained old age, declined to the outrage of destitution, having to seek their last refuge in the charity of a hospice, whereas in the lives of foreign artists we see them full of riches and with numerous good connections, ending up in magnificent sepulchers with epitaphs that honor them.[26]

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[24] Ferdinand, cited in Kamen, *Spain* 1469-1714, 9.

[25] Brown, *The Golden Age*, 1-10.

[26] Antonio Palomino, *Lives of the Eminent Spanish Painters and Sculptors*, ed. and trans. Nina Ayala Mallory (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 3.

Palomino included in his collection of artist biographies the Spaniards Diego Velázquez (1599-1660), Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1618-1682), as well as Italian painter Titian (ca. 1485-1576), and Flemish painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). The inclusions of the foreign artists, some of whom never set foot inside Spain, as "eminent Spanish painters," suggests the profound influence that they held over local artists.[27]

During the sixteenth century, Spanish scholars and poets sought to establish links with the past by drawing on classical Latin literature. Italian influences were important, and many scholars travelled between Italy and Spain in pursuit of the Italian humanistic learning and knowledge of Latin literature. It should be noted, however, that Italian culture was never the sole influence in the development of Spanish art, music and literature; local forms and genres of music, art, and literature remained popular and continued to be produced throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Antonio de Nebrija's *Gramática* was the first attempt to codify a grammar of a modern European language, and it was closely aligned with the humanist pursuits of knowledge. His achievements were the result of a humanist education and professional circles; Nebrija spent twelve years studying in Italy before returning to his homeland to teach, first at the University of Salamanca, and later at the University of Alcalá. He was a classicist, too, and published several treatises in Latin. Nebrija's greatest achievement, however, was in the codification of a Castilian grammar.[28] Nebrija and his contemporaries alike recognized the power that a codified grammar could yield, as he wrote in the dedication of *Gramática* to Queen Isabella: "Language was always the companion of empire, and followed it such that together they began, together they grew and flourished, and later together they fell." [29] Nebrija's synthesis of language and empire was within the broad humanist tradition; later,

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[27] Brown, *The Golden Age*, 1.

[28] For an overview of Nebrija's life and works, see Navarrete, *Orphans*, 1-38.

[29] Antonio Nebrija, *Gramática*, cited and translated in Navarrete, *Orphans*, 19.

renowned Piedmontese humanist Giovanni Botero would note that "victors would do well to introduce their own tongues into the countries they have conquered, as the Romans did."[30] Nebrija's writings reflect a Spanish cultural mentality that was preparing for imperial expansion, and that was conspicuously self-centered on Spain's own achievements.[31]

The national confidence expressed in Nebrija's treatise gave way to a sense of cultural insecurity within a generation. By the 1530s, literary scholars led by Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega were looking to Italy, rather than their own cultural traditions, as a guide in cultural innovation.[32] By this time in Italy, Pietro Bembo and his followers had already taken fourteenth century poet Francesco Petrarch's *Il Canzoniere* as a model for imitation. Petrarch's poetic structures, themes, and modes of expression were imitated, translated, and refashioned throughout the sixteenth century as the Italians codified Petrarch's poetics. Petrarch's popularity spread to musical circles, too: during the 1530s and 40s, Venetian madrigalists set his prose to music more frequently than any other poet, living or dead.[33]

The full literary reception of the Italian Renaissance in Spain was heralded by poets and courtiers Juan Boscán (c1490-1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (c1501-1536), in the posthumous publication of their collected Italianate works, *Obras de Juan Boscán y algunas de Garcilaso repartidas en cuatro libros* (1543).[34] The publication firmly ensconced the Petrarchan forms of the sonnet, and *canzone,* as well as other classical forms such as the elegy, Virgilian eclogue, and Horacian epistle, into the Castilian poetic tradition. The

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[30] Giovanni Botero, cited in Kamen, *Empire,* 4.

[31] R.O. Jones, *The Golden Age: Prose and Poetry: The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* A Literary History of Spain (London: Benn, 1971), 29.

[32] Navarrete, *Orphans,* 74.

[33] Martha Feldman, "Venice and the madrigal in the mid-sixteenth century," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), 4.

[34] Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, *Obras de Juan Boscán y algunas de Garcilaso repartidas en cuatro libros* (Barcelona: Carlos Amorós, 1543).

Italianate genres became a powerful phenomenon for more than a century in Spanish lyric poetry. The importation of the Italianate genres resulted in an enhanced range of poetic expression and forms, and created a Spanish literary tradition that was richer in colour and nuance than ever before in Spanish literature.[35] In the face of such extended and influential cultural exchanges between Italy and Spain during the mid-sixteenth century, it is surprising, then, that we know so little about the Spanish-Italian musical exchanges during the sixteenth century.[36]

Nationalistic positions of early Spanish musicologists may explain early Hispanic musicologists' traditional reticence to acknowledge Italian influence on Spanish music. Emilio Ros-Fábregas argued that the pressure on Spanish musicologists to present Spanish composers as "the first" to have done something important, or as being at the forefront of musical developments has marked the work of early Spanish musicologists such as Hilarión Eslava, Mariano Soriano Fuertes, Franciso Barbieri, Rafael Mitjana, and Felipe Pedrell, and that such biases have continued well into the twentieth century. In particular, he showed that constant affirmation of the "Spanishness" or "Catalaness" of Spanish music, the consistent denial of good or progressive quality in the music of other nations, and the tendency to proclaim the "independence" of Spanish music from any outside influence have been key

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[35] On sixteenth century Spanish poetry and Italian influence, see Jones, *The Golden Age;* Navarrete, *Orphans;* and Daniel L. Heiple, *Garcilaso de la Vega and the Italian Renaissance* Penn State Studies in Romance Literatures (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

[36] Italian influence and reception in Spain during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is much better investigated, especially regarding Italian opera and Spanish theatre music. See Shirley B. Whitaker, "Florentine Opera Comes to Spain: Lope de Vega's *La selva sin amor," Journal of Hispanic Philology* 9 (1984): 43-66; Louise K. Stein, *Songs of Mortals, Dialogues of the Gods: Music and Theatre in Seventeenth Century Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), esp. 191-205; Álvaro Torrente and Pablo L Rodríquez, "The Manuscript Guerra (ca. 1680) and the Rise of Solo Song in Spain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 123, no. 2 (1998): 147-189; William M. Bussey, *French and Italian Influence on the Zarzuela, 1700-1770* (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1980).

themes in nineteenth- and twentieth century Spanish musicology.[37] The themes of nationalistic scholarship certainly could have affected how the foreign-influenced Italianate musical settings were perceived during the twentieth century.

A tremendous body of work in English and Spanish over the past fifty years has opened up the world of sixteenth century Iberian music to a wide audience.[38] Such work would have greatly pleased Barbieri, who in 1888 wrote in a letter to Pedrell: "I have already said and proven this: the history of Spanish music lies under the dust of the archives of our cathedrals and convents; until there are enough brooms to dust it off, the world will believe us to be little less than Kaffirs *[sic]* or Zulus in matters of art."[39]

However, much work in Spanish musical history remains to be done. Although the holdings of Spanish cathedral archives have, for the most part, been extensively catalogued, Todd Borgerding maintains that "few attempts have been made to bring this knowledge to bear on our understanding of the music that survives. Indeed, the fundamental [English language] monograph on Spanish cathedral music is over thirty years old and in need of substantial revision."[40]Ten years ago, Emilio Ros-Fabregas proposed that Hispanicists could

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[37] Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "Musicological Nationalism or How to Market Spanish Olive Oil," (paper presented at the Study Session of the International Hispanic Study Group at the Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, 30 October 1998), and "Historiografía de la música en las catedrales españolas: nacionalism y positivismo en la investigación musicológica", *CODEXXI, Revista de la Comunicación Musical* 1 (1998): 68-135. For a discussion of the similar problem of the bias in Western music historiography from the seventeenth century to the present, see Judith Etzion, "Spanish Music as Perceived in Western Music Historiography: A Case of the Black Legend?" International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music 29, no. 2 (1998): 93-120.

[38] Of particular importance is the series *Monumentos de la Música Española*, published by Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, which has published 74 modern editions of important sixteenth century sources. However, the *opera omnia* of important composers such as Francisco Guerrero, Tomás Luis de Victoria and Cristobál Morales remain incomplete. Particularly, English language Hispanicist musicologist pioneers include Robert Stevenson and Robert Snow.

[39] Antonio Barbieri, cited in Emilio Casares, "Las relaciones musicales entre los Países Bajos y España vistas a través de los investigadores del siglo XIX," *Musique des Pays-Bas AnciensMusique Espagnole Ancienne (ca. 1450-ca.1650)*, Colloquia Europalia III,Actas del Coloquio Internacional de Musicología (Brussels, 28129-X-1985), ed. by Paul Becquart and Henri Vanhulst (Lovaina: Peeters, 1988), 47. The implication that tribal cultures are less cultured than Western European cultures is, of course, dated and incorrect.

[40] Borgerding, "The Motet," 6. The monograph in question is Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*.

help remedy the unbalanced representation of Hispanic music in Western musicology by publishing a direct translation of Spanish and Latin American primary sources on music as a companion volume to Strunk's *Source Readings in Music History*.[41] To date, no compilation of source readings has been published.

Archives housing musical sources have suffered the degrading effects of fires, floods, humidity and thefts over the centuries, and many documents have gone missing. In the eighteenth century, the abbot of the Monastery of San Francisco in Guadalajara wrote of a smuggling ring targeting rare books and documents, describing the problem as a "pestilent and lethal cancer." [42]Archives are often inaccessible to scholars, since many documents have dissipated into various private collections. This situation, however, is changing; Roberta Schwartz recently wrote that in 1996 the Spanish government initiated a project to gather all independent aristocratic archives in a central location.[43] Negotiations between the government and private owners are currently in progress, with varying degrees of success.

Of the institutions that supported musical culture in Spain during the sixteenth century, the Church wielded the greatest authority. Well-regarded contemporary Spanish composers were usually employed at some stage in their careers within the church system. Those who gained church employment enjoyed numerous benefits, including tax exemptions, a regular salary, and prestige. Musical culture in a cathedral was a highly valued commodity, and cathedrals were often in competition with each other to obtain the services of the best musicians. In 1560, Canon Hernand Ramírez wrote a petition to the cathedral chapter to explain why he wished to donate his prebend in order to attract singers to the cathedral of Seville:

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[41] Ros-Fábregas, "How to market olive oil," 12.

[42] José Subirá, *Música en la Casa de Alba: estudios históricos y bibliográficos* (Madrid: n.p., 1929), quoted in Roberta Schwartz, "En busca de liberalidad: Music and Musicians in the Courts of Spanish Nobility, 1470-1640," (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2001), 2.

[43] Schwartz, "En busca," 4n.

> Given the great necessity that this holy church has that its musical *capilla* be appropriate for the service of God and his divine office, and correspond to the decency and grandeur of such an illustrious church, ... and since we have gone out over the entire kingdom looking for singers, which positions they esteem more since they offer not only perpetual salaries but also the honor of the prebend, and since such prebends do not exist in this church except for the organist and *maestro de capilla* ...I petition the pope that he divide my canonry and prebend that I possess in this holy church into three portions which are to be given to three famous singers.[44]

Nationwide searches for singers "appropriate for the service of God" such as that described by the Canon were not uncommon. Such extreme measures taken to procure famous singers suggests that they were a valued element of church life.

Besides offering financial incentives to remain working in Spain, cathedrals maintained large libraries that gave composers access to contemporary local and international works, an attractive prospect for Spanish composers eager to stay abreast of international trends. The cathedral of Seville held works by Guerrero, Morales, Victoria, Josquin, and George de la Héle; and the library at Toledo cathedral was even more diverse, housing works by Josquin, La Rue, Clemens non Papa, Compére, Festa, Févin, Gombert, Palestrina, Richafort, and Willaert, among others .[45] The works in the library may have been used for performance or study.

Despite such incentives to build their careers within ecclesiastical appointments in Spain, large numbers of Spanish musicians such as Cristóbal de Morales (1500-1553), Bartolomé de Escobedo (c1500-1563), Francisco Soto de Langa (1534-1619), Tomás Luis de Victoria (1548-1611) and Sebastián Raval (ca.1550-1604) chose to work for extended periods abroad. Some even stayed abroad for the duration of their working lives. Many of these composers enthusiastically participated in the foreign musical culture beyond the

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[44] Ramírez, cited in Todd M. Borgerding and Louise K. Stein, "Spain, 1530-1600," in *European Music, 1520-1640*, ed. James Haar (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2006), 424. A "prebend" was a living stipend granted to a canon or member of the chapter by a cathedral or collegiate church.

[45] José López-Calo, "El Archivo de música de la Capilla Real de Granada," *Anuario musical* 13 (1958): 122.

requirements of their cathedral positions. Morales left two Italian madrigals, and Sebastián Raval published three collections of Italian madrigals.[46]

During the time of the Catholic Monarchs, the royal court maintained strong choirs and other ensembles within their chapels. Accomplished musicians such as Francisco de Peñalosa (ca. 1470-1528) and Pedro de Escobar (ca. 1465- c. 1535) served the royal court, and both musicians would later serve at the cathedral of Seville in senior positions. Like the musicians in the service of the Church, court musicians received numerous benefits: attractive salaries, social prestige, and tax benefits.[47] It is little wonder, then, that musical culture flourished in the royal court during the sixteenth century.

Over the past fifty years, musicologists have carefully examined the cross-cultural transmissions between the Low Countries and Spain.[48] Noble households, in particular the Dukes of Cantabria, possessed diverse musical repertories including Italian, French, and

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[46] On the working lives of numerous Spanish musicians and composers abroad, see Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*. Morales' two madrigal s were: *Ditemi o si o no*, 4v., included in the Gardane print *Il quarto libro di madrigali d'Archadelt* (Venice, 1539); and *Quando lieta sperai*, 4v., in Gardane's reprint of Rore's second book of madrigals, *Il secondo libro di madrigali a cinque voci* (Venice, 1593). Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, 111-112. Sebastián Raval's publications were: *Il primo libro de madrigali*, 5v. (Venice, 1593); *Il primo libro di canzonette*, 4v. (Venice, 1593); and *Madrigali*, 3, 5, & 8v. (Rome, 1595).

[47] Information on the musical culture in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella is taken from Tessa Wendy Knighton, "Music and Musicians at the Court of Fernando of Aragon, 1474-1516" (PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1983), 2 vols.

[48] Two of the most recent investigations into the cross-cultural musical communications are Juan Ruíz-Jiménez, "The Mid-Sixteenth Century Franco-Flemish Chanson in Spain. The Evidence of Ms. 975 of the Manuel de Falla Library," in *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging coor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, D. 51ste,Afi. lste (2001): 25-41; and Kreitner, *The Church Music*, 2004. Now outdated, but still useful is Higinio Anglés, ed., *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos*, Monumentos de la Música Española (2nd ed., Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1960). See also C. W. Chapman, "Printed Collections of Polyphonic Music Owned by Ferdinand Columbus," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968): 34-84; Robert Stevenson, "Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal," in *Josquin des Prez. Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival Conference*, ed. E.E. Lowinsky in collaboration with B.J. Blackburn (Oxford, 1976), 217-246. Several dissertations have been written on particular manuscripts with connections to the Low Countries, including Norma Baker, "An Unnumbered Manuscript of Polyphony in the Archives of the Cathedral of Segovia" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1978), 2 vols; Tess Knighton, "Music and Musicians"; and Emilio Ros Fábregas, *The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya M. 454* (Ph.D diss., City University of New York, 1992), 2 vols. See also several essays in Becquart and Vanhulst, eds., *Musique des Pays-Bas anciens*.

German polyphonic sacred and secular works along with those by local composers.[49] The public, too, must have been interested in international repertories: a sixteenth century inventory of a book merchant in Valladolid includes numerous volumes of Italian madrigals, French chansons, and other various international compositions.[50]

Upon his ascendence to the throne following Isabella's death in 1504, Carlos V embarked on a royal visit to survey his inheritance. He brought a large Franco-Flemish choir with him, with well-known musicians including Nicolas Gombert, Thomas Crecquillon and Philippe de Monte. The King's tour marked the beginning of a sustained period of direct cultural interaction between musicians from Spain and the Low Countries. Throughout Carlos V's reign, separate Flemish and Spanish choirs were maintained in the royal chapel. This tradition was maintained under the rule of his successor, Philip II, and, in fact, the number of Flemish musicians increased after the death of Carlos V.[51]

Employment in noble households seems to have been another form of sustenance for composers in Spain during the sixteenth century, although little is known of the musical practices or circumstances in which musicians found themselves. Although the patronal support of the Spanish nobility has not yet been extensively examined, preliminary evidence suggests that a number of important Spanish musicians and composers worked within the noble court system early in their careers. Well-regarded performing instrumentalists and singers tended to feature more prominently than composers of polyphony.[52] The most well-known example of this close connection between secular music and the noble courts is in the employment of Luis de Milán, a highly skilled writer, courtier, musician, and composer at

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[49] Bernadette Nelson, "The court of don Fernando de Aragon, Duke of Calabria in Valencia, c.1536-c.1550: music, letters and the meeting of cultures," *Early Music* 32, no. 2 (2004): 194-224; and Schwartz, "En busca".

[50] Griffiths, "The Transmission of Secular Polyphony," 322.

[51] Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "The Mid-Sixteenth Century Franco-Flemish Chanson in Spain," 25.

[52] For a preliminary investigation of the musical practices in Spanish noble households during the Renaissance, see Schwartz, "En busca."

the court of the Dukes of Calabria in Valencia in the second quarter of the sixteenth century. Milán wrote a book of vihuela music *(El Maestro,* 1536) as well as *El Cortesano* (1561), a book describing courtly behaviour and everyday life at court. The latter was closely modelled on Italian count Baldessare de Castiglione's description of everyday life in an Italian court.[53]

Surviving musical settings of sacred texts far outnumber those of secular in sixteenth century Spain.[54] A vast number of mass settings are detailed in inventories from major cathedrals, written by composers such as Morales, Guerrero, and Victoria. Besides ordinary mass settings, motet and Office settings were extraordinarily popular in Spain, and probably performed outside the liturgy during the numerous processions that accompanied Holy Week and other such occasions.

Spanish secular song repertories rapidly developed during the fifteenth- and sixteenth centuries, although they never paralleled the rate of growth of the chanson, madrigal, or villanesca as in other parts of Western Europe. The *villancico* and *romance* were the two most popular genres. The *romance* was a strophic ballad that was usually narrative in poetic content, with themes of famous battles or other localized historical events. Each romance was divided into quatrains, with each line made up of eight syllables. The overwhelming majority of extant Spanish secular songs from the sixteenth century, however, were *villancicos.*

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[53] Schwartz, "En busca," 246-333. In another appropriation of the Italian courtly aesthetic, Juan Boscán published a translation of Castiglione's *Il cortegiano* into Spanish in 1534. See Chapter 2 of this study on the significance of Boscán's translation.

[54] Borgerding & Stein, "Spain," 446. Much of this and the two following paragraphs that survey Spanish musical genres of the sixteenth century summarize their chapter: Borgerding & Stein, "Spain," 422-454.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the villancico was a strophic song with a refrain.[55] Fixed form villancicos were typically much shorter than contemporary romances, and utilized a broader range of poetic moods and subjects. The formal structure of the villancico always consisted of several stanzas *(coplas)* surrounded by a refrain *(estribillo),* giving an ABA structure to each strophe, much like the Italian *frottola* form. Besides the villancico and romance, other Spanish secular genres included the *ensalada,* a Spanish genre akin to a quodlibet, which consisted of popular music, street songs, dramatic dialogues, satire, and scriptural quotations.

The final genres of Spanish secular polyphonic song to be explained are the musical settings of Italianate poetry. Although the Italian madrigal phenomenon had grown to be the most popular Western European genre during the sixteenth century, the Spaniards do not seem to have fully naturalized the forms. The remaining sources are few, and they fail to display sustained stylistic developments nor do they seem to have significantly affected contemporaneous Spanish genres.[56] It is these genres that are central to the research questions in this thesis, which examine the relationship between text and music in a selected case study.

As previously stated, the primary source for this study is Querol's edition of MadM 6829, Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli. A listing of the incipits included in the modern edition is included in Appendix I, along with known composers and number of voices.[57] Translations of text and poetry are by this author, except where noted. All musical

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[55] "At the turn of the seventeenth century, the term *villancico* changed in usage, and was instead applied to any religious song in the vernacular with no fixed form." Paul Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico,* Detroit Monographs in Music/Studies in Music 19 (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 2. On the distinction between the secular, fixed-form villancico, and the no fixed-form devotional genre, see Tess Knighton and Álvaro Torrente, *Devotional Music in the Iberian World, 1450-1800* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 1-14.

[56] King, "The *Canciones y Villanescas Espirituales,*" 178-79.

[57] All information on the physical condition of the manuscript is taken from Querol's introductory source study in *Cancionero de Medinaceli,* 1:9-30.

examples have been copied verbatim from the modern edition, leaving the suggested *musica ficta* from the modern edition untouched. Likewise, any other irregularities that appear in the modern edition were left uncorrected, although obvious typographical errors have been modified. Where italic text was copied into the modern edition in the cases of the original manuscript being left blank, this was adopted in my transcriptions, too. The only notational difference between the examples in this thesis and the modern edition is the addition of word extensions over held notes for the sake of visual clarity in the musical examples. When mentioned in text, the titles of settings from MadM 6829 are followed by the abbreviation CM (abbreviated from Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli) and, for reference, the number according to the modern edition. The limitations imposed upon this study by the exclusive reliance on a modern edition are acknowledged. It should be noted, however, that the nature and extent of this study have been modified to minimize such limitations. Thus, minor errors in the modern edition are inconsequential for this study's aims; a source study of the manuscript is not intended as the major research area, but rather the stylistic and formal characteristics of the settings contained within the manuscript. Due to its extremely fragile state of repair, MadM 6829 has been inaccessible to modern scholars since its private acquisition by Bartolomé March Servera in the 1960s and its later transferral to the Fundación Bartolomé March in Mallorca. Many folios are now illegible.[58]

MadM 6829 is appropriate as the primary document for the close musical readings in this thesis because it has been acknowledged as the most important manuscript source for musical settings of Spanish neo-Petrarchan poetry. It contains a large number of Italianate musical settings in a single source, and features some of the most important Andalusian composers of the epoch:

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[58] Information obtained by way of personal correspondence with the Fundación Bartolomé March, 7 October, 2008. Following March's death in 1988, the Fundación Bartolomé March was established in Mallorca, where the manuscript has been housed since 1993.

> ... the paradigm of a tradition, [MadM 6829] confirms the existence of a Spanish secular repertory composed by some of the leading native composers whose professional livelihood came from church employment, and who set texts of the courtly-popular and contemporary literary traditions in a style that reflects both the strong legacy of Franco-Flemish polyphony as well as an awareness of recent developments in Italian secular music.[59]

Thus, not only is MadM 6829 important for its contents, but it also reflects the various musical links between Spain and the rest of Europe that could increase knowledge of Spain's position in the pan-European context.

Musical concordances between MadM 6829 and several diverse sources are important because they give some indication of how far and frequently the musical settings of Italianate poetry circulated.[60] The first four sources in the concordances list below share a significant number of settings, and it is likely that they were in some way related in provenance.[61] Appendix II provides specific details of the concordances between works, listing the incipit and folio number details for each setting.

Concordant sources to MadM 6829:

VallaC 255	Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música, MS 255 - alto partbook
PueblaC	Puebla (Mexico) Archivo de Música Sacra de la Catedral MS XIX
Galdiano	Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, 15411 - single soprano manuscript partbook
Esteban Daza	*El Parnasso* (Valladolid, 1576)
Miguel de Fuenllana	*Orphenica lyra* (Seville, 1554)
Enríquez de Valderrábano	*Silva de Sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547)
Francisco Guerrero	*Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (Venice, 1589)

[59] Griffiths, "The Transmission," 322.

[60] This study has excluded from the list of concordances those sources containing identical poetry, but with different musical settings. Querol provides an adequate listing of such sources in the preface, *Cancionero de Medinaceli*, 1:15-21.

[61] See Griffiths, "The Transmission," 324-5 for a full listing of concordant settings between these particular sources and possible routes of transmission.

Soto de Langa	*Il primo libro delle laude spirituali* (Rome, 15XX) - with sacred Italian texts
Soto de Langa	*Il secondo libro delle laude spirituali* (Rome, 1583) - with sacred Italian texts
Soto de Langa	*Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (Rome, 1588) - with sacred Italian texts
Orlando de Lassus	*Tiers libre des chansons f. .. } composez par Orlando di Laissus f. .. } convenables tant aux instrumentz comme á* la voix (Louvain: 1560)

The publications of Daza and Fuenllana contain intabulations for vihuela and solo voice of MadM 6829 settings, and the Valderrábano concordance is an instrumental arrangement of a MadM 6829 setting. The prints by Guerrero and Soto de Langa contain *a lo divino* versions of secular settings in MadM 6829, and aside from minor variations in the text, are identical. Orlando de Lassus' *Suzanne ung jour* was included in MadM 6829, although the text used in the setting was the well-known Castilian translation by Lope de Vega.[62] The chanson was one of only two settings for five voices to be included in MadM 6829, and was already very popular in Spain; no fewer than ten chansons from Lassus' publication were included in VallaC 255 - a source that contains several other concordant settings with MadM 6829.[63] According to Griffiths, "[t]he number of concordant sources - apparently still not exhaustive - in both polyphonic manuscripts and instrumental intabulations points to widespread circulation." He maintains that the settings in MadM 6829 must have belonged to a repertory beyond the domain of the manuscript's patron, and were probably well known in both bourgeoisie and noble circles.[64] Miguel Querol notes, however, that even considering the sources that have disappeared or been destroyed over the years, the

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[62] Querol, *Cancionero de Medinaceli*, 2:22.

[63] Griffiths, "The Transmission," 325.

[64] Juan-Ruíz Jimenez, "The Mid-Sixteenth Century Franco-Flemish Chanson in Spain," *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, 51:1 (2001): 25-41.

number of Spanish settings of neo-Petrarchan poetry could not come close to the prolific Italian genre.[65]

Two types of unusual markings on MadM 6829 may support Griffith's claim that the manuscript was compiled for a broader audience than a single noble household. The markings *"Flamenco primero," "flaco"* (according to Querol, an abbreviation of the word "flamenco") and *"flam^{co}"* were written on various vocal parts in the manuscript.[66] Although the exact meaning of the annotations is unclear, one explanation is that the manuscript spent some time in the service of the Flemish choir of the Royal Court, who were based in Valladolid before being relocated, with the Royal Court, to Madrid in 1561.[67] If this were to be true, then it is entirely possible that Daza, who was based in Valladolid, could have drawn on either MadM 6829, or VallaC 255, which may have been copied from MadM 6829.

Additionally, inscriptions on several secular and sacred folios indicate that it was probably used at some time in a church, chapel or monastery in Castile or Jérez de la Frontera:

f. 17v and 22v:	Laus Deo
f.128v:	To the most magnificent and reverend Father Alonso Ortiz, caretaker of the convent of [illegible] in Jerez
f.207:	For the glory and honor of Father Pedro Medrazo, provincial of the province of Castile
f.208:	Father Antonio de Miranda came here [illegible]
f.208v:	Most reverend Father Alonso Gomez

These inscriptions do not necessarily indicate that the manuscript was compiled in or for a monastery or cathedral; they do suggest, however, that the manuscript served some time in various locations within Andalusia. The first documented appearance of the

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[65] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, ed. *Madrigales españoles ineditos del siglo XVI* Monumentos de la Música Española 40 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1981), iii.

[66] Querol, *Cancionero de Medinaceli*, 1: 12.

[67] Schwartz, "En busca," 568.

manuscript in the Medinaceli ducal library is not until the 1842 inventory.[68] In the preceding centuries, several household nobles had been avid bibliophiles, since a number of other libraries of significant historical importance had already been incorporated into the ducal library, including those of Don Pedro Fernández de Córdobes, Dr Lucian de Negión, archdeacon of Seville, Francisco de Quevado, the count-duke of Olivares, the Marquises of Priego, the Dukes of Alcalá, the Marquises of Cogolludo, and the Dukes of Cardona.[69] Thus, it is probable that the manuscript was also acquired as a collectors item.

Of the original 209 paper folios in MadM 6829, 208 survive, each measuring 307 x 215 millimeters. A complete list of the settings, including known composers, is included in Appendix I at the end of this study. A single scribal hand prevails (approximately 80% of the transcription), with two or three others intervening, and there are two visible systems of foliation. Due to the disposition of the scribal hands, the mixed nature of the repertoire, and the double foliation, Querol concluded that the manuscript probably started as a single collection, and over time as pieces were lost, new ones were added. The folios were probably renumbered by a later archivist after this process of assimilation. The manuscript is thought to date from around the third quarter of the sixteenth century, since the date 1569 is clearly visible on folio 17.[70] Some settings, however, must have been written at least twenty years earlier than the estimated date of compilation.[71]

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[68] Antonio Paz y Melia, ed., *Series de los más importantes del Archivo y Biblioteca del Excmo. Señor Duque de Medinaceli, elegidos por su encargo y publicados a sus expensas por A. Paz y Mélia*, (Madrid: Imp. Alemana, 1915).

[69] Pazy Melia, *Series de los más importantes*, 569.

[70] Querol, *Cancionero de Medinaceli*, 1:9-30.

[71] For example, *Ojos claros y serenos* by Francisco Guerrero (CM, no. 1) had already been included in Fuenllana's vihuela book, *El Parnasso* (Seville, 1554). Thus, Guerrero must have composed the work by around 1550 in order for Fuenllana to have had time to get a copy of, and arrange, the polyphonic original.

There are four settings of poetry by Garcilaso, more than any other identified poet; this alone indicates the high regard in which he was held by his musical contemporaries.[72] Other poets identified include Juan Boscán, Gutierre de Cetina, Jorge Montemayor, Gregorio Silvestre, Juan de Leyva, Juan de Timoneda and Hurtado de Mendoza. Many of these were major figures in Spanish literary circles during the sixteenth century, and were associated with literary genres beyond Italianate poetry. Jorge Montemayor, for example, was most famous for his picaresque novel *La Diana,* of which more than twenty editions in Castilian alone were reprinted during the last forty years of the sixteenth century; editions also appeared in French, English, and Italian translations .[73]

This study has explicitly avoided a direct comparison between the MadM 6829 repertory and the early Italian madrigals to which it stylistically resembles. Such an approach would be problematic, as it inevitably invites the assumption of a cultural lag; any differences would be attributed to the Spaniards' inability or indifference to adapt to the more cosmopolitan and "progressive" Italian genre. Indeed, Randel warns against direct comparison between the two repertories, claiming that the best explanations for "peculiarities of a particular culture" are better found within itself than by comparison to an earlier occurrence in another.[74] A similar sentiment was shared by Brown regarding mid-sixteenth century French secular song:

> It may be that we have been looking at French music through Italianate spectacles, searching for a highly expressive music whose composers were inclined to violate traditional musical rules of decorum, melodic grace and counterpoint in the effort to write a music that embodies the meaning of the poetry it sets. Instead, we should be looking for uniquely French ways of thinking about prosody and rhetoric - even equating correct prosody with deeply serious

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[72] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 66.

[73] Dominick Finello, *"La 'Diana' en Europa: ediciones, traducciones, e influencias* by Eugenia Fosalba," *Hispanic Review* 66, no. 1 (1998): 93-95.

[74] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 79.

> moral issues - and about more subtle relationships between music and literary ideas.[75]

To explain the "peculiarities" of MadM 6829 - the "uniquely [Spanish] ways of thinking about prosody and rhetoric ," and the "subtle relationships between music and literary ideas," this study considered the specific nature of the poems chosen for musical setting from the contexts of the Petrarchan tradition in Spain. The musical form and style of the settings were considered in relation to stylistic nuances of the text as well as more profound levels of poetic mode of expression, grammatical structure and rhetorical declamation, and representative or important examples are provided.

This study takes as an assumption that text and music can relate to each other on a several levels. The approach used to consider the relationship is based on the six levels proposed by Leeman Perkins: formal, declamatory, syntactical, rhetorical, mimetic, and affective.[76] Perkins argues that, although the levels frequently overlap, it is useful to distinguish between them, since most composers of the fifteenth and sixteenth century invariably based compositional decisions on such considerations. Each Italianate poem and its musical setting in MadM 6829 was analysed according to Perkins' system of classification of expressive text-setting techniques. Musical examples appropriate for each point of analysis were selected with the aim of exposing a wide variety of settings and composers. This rationale serves to identify common expressive techniques across the majority of the settings.

As a related methodological assumption, the compositional process was considered in the close readings, as a means of offsetting the perils of grounding musicological research in purely formalistic analysis. Thus, the works were analyzed from the perspective of how the

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[75] Brown, *"'Ut musica poesis', Music and Poetry*, 49.

[76] Leeman Perkins, "Towards a Theory of Text-Music Relations in the Renaissance," in *Binchois Studies*, ed. Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 313-330.

composer may have first conceived formal structure and coherence, followed by how he then applied his musical palette of colours and textures. A limited number of works which displayed heightened musical or poetic expressivity were selected for full, in-depth analysis. The starting point for this selection was Don Randel's choice of settings in his discussion of Italianate settings in MadM 6829, thus adding an additional aim of testing his brief analyses of the poetry and music. Several other poems or musical settings were then added to this selection, on the basis that they displayed heightened musical sensitivity in the broad analysis of all Italianate settings.

Current research on secular polyphony in Spain does not share a common conceptual framework. In an area where very little research has been undertaken, the methodology adopted here allows a comprehensive description of the repertory on its own terms, offering a nuanced view of the expression of musical meaning. This study is significant in that it provides information about the way composers may have interpreted Spanish neo-Petrarchan poetry as a novel vehicle for musical expression. Free of the traditional Castilian fixed forms and verse structure, the Italianate poetry must have been exciting to Spanish composers for its cosmopolitan mode of expression and relatively unrestrictive formal characteristics.

A secondary significance of this study is the delineation of the core repertory of musical settings of neo-Petrarchan poetry. Since the repertory has scarcely been studied in depth, no scholar has discussed the various sources in relation to each other, nor have they been able to comprehensively establish the existence of a distinctive "Spanish madrigal". The problem is addressed here in two parts: first, the interrelationships between the sources and their varying uses of terminology are comprehensively discussed in Chapter 2; and second, in Chapters 3 and 4 the text-music relationship is explored in sufficient depth to be able to draw conclusions about the nature of the repertory.

On a broader level, this study contributes to the growing body of literature concerned with the diffusion and interaction of cultures beyond geographical boundaries during the early modern period. Since the end of World War II, society has questioned what could be the value of "cultural diversity," what could "cross-cultural reciprocities" mean, and what exactly constitutes a "national" or "regional" identity. These questions surrounding the formation of society have been asked by organizations such as UNESCO, as well as by scholars, including musicologists.[77] In attempting to qualify some preliminary aspects of the Spanish musical repertory of the sixteenth century most closely involved with the Italian Renaissance, it is hoped that this study will add to increasing interest in issues of cultural identity and diffusion.

Chapter 1 has been an introduction to the study, introducing the manuscript MadM 6829 as representative of the musical settings of neo-Petrarchan poetry in Spain, and situating it in its relevant sociopolitical and musical context. It has also outlined the method that was chosen to investigate how the text-music relationship may have been conceived in sixteenth century Spain, using the manuscript MadM 6829 as an example. In Chapter 2, a brief introduction to Renaissance Spanish poetry is provided before the Italianate genres in Spanish literature are treated in more depth. The particular verse types and the various themes and poetic modes of expression that were included in MadM 6829 are discussed, and suggestions are offered why these works in particular were well-suited to musical setting. Additionally, the second chapter contributes to the scholarly discussion on Spanish settings of Italianate works by addressing the issue of the conflicting contemporaneous terminology that was given to the various musical settings in publication, a matter that, until now, had not been thoroughly treated in the scholarly literature.

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[77] To cite just two examples of musicologists engaging with issues more traditionally aligned with Cultural Studies and History, see Robert M. Stevenson, "Ethnological Impulses in the Baroque Villancico," *Inter-American Music Review* 14, no. 1 (1994): 67-106; and *Renaissance Culture in Context: Theory and Practice*, eds. Jean R. Brink and William F. Gentrup (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1993).

Both Chapters 3 and 4 use original close readings of works in MadM 6829 to examine the ways in which composers may have considered the text when writing musical settings. Chapter 3 situates the musical style of the works in the context of the other surviving sources in the repertory, before closely examining the correspondences between musical style and text. It identifies the expressive tools that composers held in their artistic palettes to highlight a particular word, image, or movement of the text. Chapter 4, by contrast, examines the text-music relationship on a much larger scale, questioning to what extent text-based concerns manipulated musical form and structure. The syntax, grammar, and poetic mode of expression are all shown to have influenced some Spanish composers in MadM 6829. The concluding chapter summarizes the study, highlights its primary contributions to the discipline, and offers suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2:

Spanish Poetry, Petrarchism, and Music

From a literary standpoint, fifteenth century secular Spanish poetry tended to be either courtly or popular, and is usually described as *cancionero* poetry (in reference to the manuscript songbooks in which they were usually compiled).[1] *Cancionero* poetry tended to have its roots in the medieval themes and subject matter of the Provençal troubadour tradition, although by the time the *Cancionero de Baena* (ca. 1445) was compiled, various metaphorical and philosophical Italian elements were apparent.[2] The *canción de amor,* a fixed form with repetitive rhyme scheme and eight-syllable lines, was the most common verse type. The *cancionero* approach towards love remained more or less the same as the older Provençal tradition in its basic attitudes towards the treatment of love, namely, that the poet constantly suffered for want of the affection or attention of his beloved.[3]

During the fifteenth century, popular poetry was increasingly incorporated into the fixed formal types previously reserved for courtly poetry. Increasing importance was given to Nature in philosophy and art, partly as the result of social movements predating, but related to, humanism. Pastoral themes were eventually incorporated into *cancionero* poetry, as were popular forms such as the *villancico, romance,* and *canción.* The *cancionero* poetry, then, put forth a deliberately and self-consciously 'rustic' type of poetry that was produced by courtiers in courtly circles. The largest source for this type of *cancionero* poetry is the

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[1] It should be noted that *cancioneros* could either contain poetry alone, or in musical setting. It is unknown whether the exclusively literary *cancioneros* were intended to be sung.

[2] Elias L. Rivers, editor, translator, and introduction, *Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1966), 12.

[3] On the treatment of love in fifteenth- and sixteenth century Spain poetry, see Arthur Terry, editor and introduction, *An Anthology of Spanish Poetry 1500-1700,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Pendragon Press, 1965); Alexander A. Parker, *The Philosophy of Love in Spanish Literature 1400-1680* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985); and Ian Macpherson & Angus MacKay, *Love, Religion & Politics in Fifteenth Century Spain* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

Cancionero general (1511), which was immensely popular throughout the sixteenth century and was reprinted several times.[4]

A Spanish tradition of classical scholarship coexisted with the *cancionero* poetry, and the imitation of classical works had been attempted as early as the fifteenth century in Spain.[5] However, the efforts of scholars from before the fifteenth century remained largely "prehumanistic," as scholars viewed the past ahistorically rather than seeing themselves as renewers of antiquity.[6] The first documented attempt by a Spanish poet to imitate Petrarch was among the forty original sonnets by Don Iñigo López de Mendoza, the Marqués of Santillana (1398-1458), written in the late 1440s.[7] The Marqués of Santillana was an avid bibliophile, and exceptionally well-educated. He was fluent in a number of languages: French, Italian, Galician and Catalan, and could translate Latin, initiating the translations into Castilian of the works of Homer, Virgil and Seneca. He approached his imitation of Petrarch in a similar way to the early Italian Petrarchists: while the poems are informed with Petrarchisms as decorative devices, they do not appropriate Petrarch as a privileged model, and their imitation is eclectic in its exclusive focus on Petrarchan conceits. There is nothing to suggest that the works reached wide or diverse readership, nor are they known to ever have been set to music. Additionally, although Santillana presented a panoramic history of

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[4] On early *cancionero* poetry and its musical settings, see Isabel Pope, introduction to *Cancionero de Upsala,* edited by Jesús Bal y Gay (Mexico: El Colegio de México, 1944); *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos: Cancionero Musical de Palacio (siglos XV-XVI),* introduction and preliminary study of the texts by Jose Romeu Figueras. Monumentos de la Música Española, 14/1 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1965); Carolyn Ruby Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song c. 1460 to 1535" (PhD diss., University ofLondon, 1981), 122-189; Tessa Wendy Knighton, "Music and Musicians at the Court of Fernando of Aragon, 1474-1516" (PhD diss., Cambridge University, 1983); and Higinio Anglés, ed., *La música en la corte de los Reyes Católicos,* Monumentos de la Música Española (2nd ed., Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1960).

[5] See Ottavio Di Camillo, *El humanismo castellano del siglo XV* (Valencia: Fernando Torres, 1976), 124, for commentary on attempts by fifteenth century Spanish writers to imitate classical authors such as Quintillian.

[6] Ignacio Navarrete, *Orphans 01 Petrarch* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 16.

[7] David William Foster, *The Marqués de Santillana,* Twayne's World Author Series 154 (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971). In this study, the information on the Marqués and his works derives largely from this source.

poetry from the ancients until his own day, he did not attach such poetic achievements to military victories, or compare the Spanish literary history with the Italian.[8] Thus, while Santillana's sonnets were considerable poetic accomplishments, they did not adopt Petrarch as a single, privileged model in the way that Bembo and his followers would later do, nor did the Marqués attempt to equate poetic and militaristic achievement in the same way that Nebrija and Encina did.[9]

Petrarchism encompassed much more than the adoption of certain Italianate forms and meters; Wilkins describes it as "the use of Petrarchan words, phrases, lines, metaphors, conceits, and ideas, and the adoption, for poetic purposes, of the typical Petrarchan experience and attitudes."[10] Although the majority of Petrarch's works were written in Latin, it was those in the vernacular that Petrarchists seized upon as ideal poetic models: the *Rime sparse* (more commonly known as the *Canzoniere), Trionfi* and *Rime dispersa* were his most widely imitated works. In the *Canzoniere,* Petrarch included 317 sonnets, 29 *canzoni,9 sestinas,* 7 *ballatas* and 4 *madrigali,* most of which focussed on the theme of unrequited, cruel love, inspired by his own love for the famous Laura.[11] A famous Petrarchism was the oxymoron, typified in such vivid imagery as the description of the icy burn of love.

Within the trend of Petrarchan imitation there were two widely divergent practices: one in the fifteenth century, and the other in the sixteenth.[12] Heiple explains that, in the first, early Petrarchists such as Il Charitео (ca. 1450-1514) and Serafino dell' Aquila (1466-1500) elaborated on Petrarch's rhetoric and imitated his rhetorical devices such as conceits and

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[8] Navarrete, *Orphans, 17.*

[9] On Nebrija and Encina's associations of language and power, see Navarrete, *Orphans,* 16-31.

[10] Ernest Hatch Wilkins, "A General Survey of Renaissance Petrarchism." *Studies in the Life and Works of Petrarch* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1955), 281-82.

[11] Aldo S. Bernardo, *Petrarch, Laura, and the Triumphs* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1974), 2.

[12] Daniel L. Heiple, *Garcilaso de la Vega and the Italian Renaissance,* Penn State Studies in Romance Literatures (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 74-76.

extreme antitheses.[13] The flamboyant and exaggerated style of the early Petrarchists, though wildly popular in its own time, has been ill-received in literary history since the early sixteenth century.[14] It was only during the sixteenth century that Petrarchan imitation reached full maturity, as poets and theorists led by Pietro Bembo closely imitated Petrarch in search of a moderate and balanced style, thus countering the extravagances of the earlier Petrarchists. This chapter traces Spanish Petrarchism from its Bembist beginnings through to its adoption and adaptation in Spain, before focussing on the particular type of verse that was selected for musical settings.

During the sixteenth century, humanist writer Pietro Bembo (1470-1547) was the public figure most closely associated with Petrarchism. It was his thorough study of Petrarch and his works that led to the reproduction of Petrarch's *Canzoniere* in 1501. Bembist theory advocated a return to moderated and balanced poetry using close imitation of the best Italian poets. In his landmark dialogue-treatise, *Prose della volgar lingua,* Bembo explicitly prescribed the strict imitation of Petrarch and of Giovanni Boccaccio (1313-1375), a contemporary and friend of Petrarch, as a solution to both the problems of creating a standard national language for the Italian states, as well as advancing the vernacular poetic tradition beyond its artificial extravagances of the fifteenth century. Bembo's theory of imitation differed from the earlier Petrarchists because he considered imitation to encompass poetic form, balanced diction, ethos, and other largely intangible nuances: the reproduction of style alone was insufficient for a satisfactory imitation. In this way, Bembo was guided by

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[13] Heiple, *Garcilaso,* 74.

[14] See Wilkins, "A General Survey," for negative reviews of such works.

his classical models Cicero and Virgil, who themselves attained their height through the imitation of their Greek predecessors.[15]

Not long after Bembo established Petrarchism as the European vogue for the sixteenth century, Juan Boscán attempted to write Castilian works of Petrarchan imitation. Bembist rhetoric was probably first transmitted into Spain via a dialogue between Juan Boscán and Venetian ambassador Andrea Navagero, held at the marriage of emperor Charles V and the Portuguese Infanta Isabel in 1526. Boscán described the event:

> Porque estando un día en Granada con el Navagero ... tratando con él en cosas de ingenio y de letras, y especialmente en las variedades de muchas lenguas, me dixo por qué no provova en lengua castellana sonetos y otras artes de trobas usadas por los buenos autores de Italia. Y no solamente me lo dixo así livianamente, mas aun me rogó que lo hiziese. Partíme pocos días después para mi casa, y con la largueza y soledad del camino discurriendo por diversas cosas, fui a dar muchas vezes en lo que el Navagero me havia dicho. y así comencé atentar este género de verso, en el cual al principio hallé alguna dificultad por ser muy artificioso y tener muchas particularidades diferentes del nuestro. Pero después, pareciéndome quiçá con el amor de las cosas proprias que esto començava a sucederme bien, fui poco a poco metiéndome con calor en ello. Mas esto no bastara a hazerme pasar muy adelante si Garcilaso, con su jüizio, el cual no solamente en mi opinión, mas en la de todo el mundo, ha sido tenido por regla cierta, no me confirmara en esta mi demanda.[16]
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> One day in Granada, as we discussed matter relating to creative skill and letter and especially the variety among languages, Navagiero ... asked me why I did not try in the Castilian language sonnets and other poetic devices used by good Italian authors. And he did not say this lightly, but rather begged me to do so. 1 left for home a few days later, and during the long and lonely journey, as 1 ruminated about various things, 1 often recalled what Navagiero had said. Thus, I began to attempt this kind of verse, in which at first I encountered certain difficulty because it is so full of artifice and has

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[15] Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the madrigal in Venice*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 145. Heiple provides a thorough survey of Bembo's observations on the sound structure of Italian, *Garcilaso*, 79-88. Musicologists who have shown how composers translated Bembo's ideas into music include Dean Mace, "Pietro Bembo and the Literary Origins of the Italian Madrigal," *The Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969): 65-86; Gary Tomlinson, *Monteverdi and the End of the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); Howard Mayer Brown, "Words and Music: Willaert, the Chanson and the Madrigal about 1540," in *Florence and Venice, Comparisons and Relations: Acts of Two Conferences at Villa I Tatti in 1976-1977*, vol. 2, Il Cinquecento, ed. Christine Smith with Salvatore I. Camporeale (Florence, 1980),217-66; and Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, 1985), 355-68.

[16] Juan Boscán, *Obras completas de Juan Boscán y Garcilaso de la Vega*, edited by Carlos Clavería Laguarda (Madrid, Turner Libros, 1995),85-86. This passage was brought to my attention by Don Randel, who cited the passage in, "Sixteenth Century Spanish Polyphony and the Poetry of Garcilaso," *The Musical Quarterly* 60/1 (1974): 61-79.

> so many features different from our own verse. But later it seemed to me, perhaps because of the love one has for one's own things, that the enterprise was beginning to succeed, and thus I entered into it with more and more enthusiasm. But this would not have been enough to cause me to proceed very far if Garcilaso, which his judgment, which not only in my opinion but in that of all the world has been taken as an infallible rule, had not confirmed me in my undertaking.[17]

Navagero would certainly have read the *Prose* in manuscript before its publication in 1525, one year before his meeting with Boscán: the Venetian was a close friend of Bembo, who worked on the *Prose* for at least twenty-five years and was known to have shared it among his Venetian circle of colleagues.[18]

Soon after Boscán's conversation with Navagero, both he and Garcilaso de la Vega began adapting the Petrarchan tradition to their own native Castilian, and with the publication of *Las Obras de Boscán, y algunas de Garcilaso de la Vega, repartidas en quatro libros* (Barcelona, 1543), their Italianate poetry reached widespread circulation amongst their contemporaries (Original front plate displayed in Figure 2.1). In his preface, Boscán acknowledged the technical problems in fitting Italian verse structures to Castilian, but declared that: "their manner is graver and of greater artifice and [if I am not mistaken] much better than that of the others." [19]

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[17] Translated by Don Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish Polyphony," 61.

[18] Heiple, *Garcilaso*, 93.

[19] Translation from Navarrete, *Orphans*, 62.

Figure 2.1. Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, *Las obras* ... (Barcelona, 1543), <http://boscan.uv.es:591/CATALOGO/visita/detalleimagenlx.html>, accessed 26 April, 2008.

While the Bembist mode of Petrarchan imitation was important in Spanish Italianate poetry, it did not come to comprehensively dominate Spanish lyric poetry. Like Italian poets such as Jacopo Sannazaro (1457-1530), and Bernado Tasso (1493-1569), Spanish poets writing in the Italianate genres readily incorporated the imitation of classical models; Boscán, Garcilaso, and later Petrarchists all wrote odes, elegies, epistles and eclogues in imitation of Virgil, Ovid, and other classical writers. Interestingly, Garcilaso scholar Daniel Heiple demonstrated that Boscán and Garcilaso "compressed into their lifetimes several centuries of developments in Italian poetry" by adopting both the Bembist tradition of Petrarchan imitation and the contemporaneous rebellion against courtly love and Petrarchism led by Tasso.[20] Thus, by the time *Las obras* was posthumously published, it not only contained Petrarchan influences, but classical influences, too. Many of the classical influences had already been incorporated into the *cancionero* tradition a century earlier, and these too were assimilated in the Spanish Italianate genres.

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[20] Heiple, *Garcilaso*, 104.

Garcilaso was heavily ensconced in the Italian literary scene, living in Naples from 1532 until his death.[21] There, he became heavily involved in the *avant-garde* literary circles, attending meetings of the Accademia Pontaniana, one of the earliest and most distinguished of the academies created by Italian humanists for the discussion and communication of their studies and ideas.[22] Through such circles he must have at least been familiar with the works and ideas of Sannazaro and his colleagues, who, amongst other things, dedicated themselves to translations, imitations, and commentaries on Virgil and other classical authors.[23]

It was not until 1567 that Petrarch's *Rima* was translated into Castilian.[24] Before that, Spanish Petrarchists must have either relied on Garcilaso and Boscán's *Las obras* as a model, had access to unpublished copies of translations of Petrarch, or translated the works themselves. Nevertheless, Garcilaso was considered a model for his students and followers, and his novel treatment of the themes of love and nature were imitated by poets such as Gutierre de Cetina (1520?-1557?), Hemando de Acuña (1520?-1580?), Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (1503-1575) and Gregorio Silvestre (1520-1569). Italianate verse was firmly established as a major phenomenon in Spanish poetic tradition for over fifty years, until its eventual decline around the turn of the century, which was marked by a return to traditional Castilian *romance* (ballad) and *letrilla* (short song lyric) forms.[25]

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[21] Garcilaso himself typified the ideal courtier-poet; not only was he a man of letters, he was also a soldier, eventually dying on the battlefield. See Heiple, *Garcilaso,* 1-8.

[22] Allan Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), provides interesting insights on the Accademia Pontaniana and the role music played in it, particularly pages 7-11.

[23] A translation of Sannazaro's *La Arcadia* was available in Spain from 1547.

[24] Francesco Petrarca, *De los sonetos, canciones, mandria les y sextinas del gran poeta y orador Francisco Petrarca. Traduzidos de Toscano por Salomon Usque Hebreo* ... (Venice: En casa de Nicolao Bevilaqua, 1567), housed in Cornell University Library. <http://www.library.upenn.edu/ exhibits/rbm/petrarch/ petrarch_translation.html#49-01>, accessed 12 May 2008.

[25] Arthur Terry, *Seventeenth Century Spanish Poetry: The Power of Artifice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 2.

The term *soneto* was often used to refer to a musical setting of a sonnet, the most quintessential of Petrarchan forms, and was probably adapted from the Italian word *sonetto*. However, during the sixteenth century it was also used in a more general sense.[26] A sonnet had specific prosodic requirements, composed of two quatrains followed by a pair of tercets, and each line comprising eleven syllables. The rhyme scheme was ABBAABBA CDE CDE (the rhyme scheme of the quatrains was virtually invariable, but there were occasional variations in the rhyme of the tercets, for example, CDC CDC). In their vihuela books, Diego Pisador, Miguel Fuenllana, and Esteban Daza all used the rubric *soneto* to identify sonnet settings.[27]

In Spanish sources from the first half of the sixteenth century, the label *soneto* was also applied to settings of Italianate genres that were not prosodically sonnets.[28] *Soneto* settings by a Spanish composer first appeared in Luís Milán's vihuela book *El Maestro* (1536), with six Italian texts labelled as *sonetos* in the table of contents.[29] Of the six, only three were prosodically sonnets; the remainder were written in the Petrarchan tradition, but of different verse types. However, the six settings shared a common musical style; though all were through-composed, much musical material was repeated. In *Amor che nel penser mio,*

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[26] Igancio Navarrete, "The Problem of the Soneto in Spanish Renaissance Vihuela Books," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 4 (Winter, 1992): 769.

[27] Diego Pisador, *Libro de música de vihuela* (1552); Miguel de Fuenllana, *Orphenica Lyra* (Sevilla, 1554); Esteban Daza, *El Parnasso* (Valladolid, 1576).

[28] Hereafter, this study uses the Spanish term *soneto* to refer to settings designated as such in contemporary sources, and the English word *sonnet* in the literary sense. In *Silva de Sirenas,* Enriquez de Valderrábano's usage of the term *soneto* is unique amongst the vihuela books. In its table of contents, 27 compositions were labelled *sonetos,* although the majority of the *sonetos* were instrumental compositions. Valderrábano probably interpreted *soneto* as a relation to its Latin derivative, *sonus,* meaning "tune" or "melody." See introductory discussion in Enriquez de Valderrábano, *Silva de Sirenas,* transcribed for guitar and edited by Emilio Pujol (Boca Raton, Fla: Masters Music, 1993).

[29] Luís Milán, in *Libro de musica de vihuela de mano entitulado el Maestro* (Valencia, 1535) classed the following original settings for vihuela and voice as *sonetos:* 1) Petrarch's *Amor che nel penser mio,* (f. H5v); 2) the anonymous *Porta chiascun nela frente signato,* (f. H6v); 3) Petrarch's *Nova angeletta* (f. H7v); 4) Sannazaro's *O gelosia d'amanti,* (f. R2v); 5) the anonymous *Madonna per voi ardo et non lo credete* (f. R3v); and 6) Petrarch's *Gentil mia Donna* (f. R4v).

musical elements of the first phrase appear twelve times.[30] Ward explained that the *soneto* settings in Milán's vihuela book were, like the earliest Italian madrigals, "merely a frame into which it was possible to fit any poem of the same structure, regardless of the content."[31] Indeed, through a close reading of *O gelosía d'amanti,* a sonnet written by Neapolitan poet Jacobo Sannazaro, Griffiths showed that the *soneto* settings in Milán's book may have originated from an improvisatory tradition based on preexisting musical material rather than original settings for the Italian texts.[32] Such a tradition could explain the uniform application of terminology to genres outside the prosodic requirements of a sonnet. Additionally, Milán's association with the highly sophisticated Aragonese court of Germaine de Foix and Femando de Aragon, Duke of Calabria, attests to the cultured Italian influences he must have been exposed to.[33] Thus, Milán's usage of the epithet *soneto* for prosodic forms beyond the sonnet is unlikely to have been the result of ignorance.

Alonso Mudarra, too, worked in a highly cultured environment, and labelled seven *sonetos* in his vihuela book, *Tres Libros de música para vihuela* (Seville, 1546), five of which were prosodically sonnets.[34] In the Garcilasan tradition, Mudarra included settings of famous Latin verses by Horace and Virgil alongside sonnets by Petrarch and Sannazzaro, and three Spanish sonnets, one written by Garcilaso himself. Mudarra was brought up in the

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[30] John Ward, "The *vihuela de mano* and its music (1536-1576)" (PhD diss., New York University, 1953), 290.

[31] Ward, "The *vihuela,*" 288.

[32] John Griffiths, "Improvisation and Composition in the Vihuela Songs of Luis Milán and Alonso Mudarra," in *Gesang Zur Laute,* edited by Nicole Schwindt, Trossinger Jahrbuch Für Renaissancemusik 2 (Kassel: Barenreiter, 2003).

[33] Bernadette Nelson, in "The court of don Fernando de Aragon, Duke of Calabria in Valencia, c. 1536-c.1550: music, letters and the meeting of cultures," *Early Music* 32, no. 2 (2004): 194-224, comments that Milán was heavily involved in the workings of the court.

[34] Alonso Mudarra, *Tres Libros de música para vihuela,* ed. Emilio Pujol (Boca Raton, FL: Masters Music, 1993). Mudarra classed the following original settings for vihuela and solo voice as *sonetos:* 1) the anonymous *Que llantos son aquestos (a la muerte de la sereníssima princesa Doña Maria Nuestra Senora)* (f. 23); 2) *Si por amar el hombre* (f. 25v), also anonymous; 3) Garcilaso's *Por asperos caminos* (f. 28); 4) Petrarch's *La vita fugge* (f. 36); 5) the anonymous *Lassato a yl tago* (f. 39); 6) Sannazaro's O *gelosia d'amanti* (f. 41 v); and 7) *I tene al ombra* (f. 44), also by Sannazaro. Interestingly, a setting of Juan Boscán's Italianate poem *Claros y frescos ríos* (f. 21) was classed as a *canción* in the same work.

house of the Dukes of the Infantado in Guadalajara, one of the principal Castilian-Andalusian noble families, and must have been witness to many of the poetic and cultural innovations of the time.[35] Judging by the inclusion of classical, Italian, and Spanish cultured verses, Mudarra, like Milán, was clearly at the vanguard of poetic developments in both Italy and Spain.[36]

Recopilación de Sonetos y Villancicos a Quatro y Cinco de Juan Vázquez (1560) contains, as the title suggests, both *sonetos* and *villancicos*.[37] Not all of the *soneto* settings are sonnets in form, although they all have poetic schemes that can be found in Petrarch 's *Canzoniere*. In fact, of Vázquez 's eighty-six secular settings, including those in the *Recopilación* and those in his earlier publication *Villancicos i Canciones* (Osuna, 1551), only seven are sonnets in form.[38]

Villanesca, villanella, canzone villanesca, canzone villanesca alla Napolitana, and several other similar terms were all originally applied to a repertory of Neapolitan song that was in vogue during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Originally of popular origin and frequently written in Neapolitan dialects, it was later adopted by northem Italian composers and evolved into a more cultured genre.[39] In Spain, the term *villanesca* was first used in the vihuela tablatures of Diego Pisador (Salamanca, 1552), and Miguel Fuenllana

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[35] Navarrete, "The Problem of the Soneto," 777.

[36] Navarrete uses organizational considerations of the book to come to the same conclusion, in "The Problem of the Soneto," 777-778.

[37] Juan Vázquez, in *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos* (1560), classed the following works as *sonetos:*

[38] Russell, ed. *Juan Vázquez: Villancicos i canciones,* Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 104 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1995), xi.

[39] Donna Cardamone, "The *Canzone villanesca alla Napolitana* and related Italian vocal part music: 1537 to 1570," (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1972), 1. Also see Dinko Fabris, "The Role of Solo Singing to the Lute in the Origins of the *Villanella alla Napolitana,* c. 1530-1570" in *Gesang zur Laute,* Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik, 2 (Kassel: Barenreiter, 2003), 133-45.

(Seville, 1554), where it was used to label works by Italian authors.[40] The villanescas were taken from popular Italian *villanesche* collections; Pisador wrote his intabulations on settings by Vincenzo Fontana and Adrian Willaert, and Fuenllana had intabulated three *villanesche,* one each by Giovane Domenico da Nola, Fontana, and an anonymous setting. Some settings included deliberately "crude" compositional aspects - parallel fifths, for example - but generally, the works were similar in that they syllabically set texts with a refrain, avoided imitation and embraced a mainly chordal texture, and chose light, freely moving rhythms.[41]

By the time that Esteban Daza classed several songs as *villanescas* in *El Parnaso* (Valladolid, 1576), the term had already fallen out of common usage in Italy, where it had been replaced by the term *villanella.*[42] Daza, by contrast to the earlier vihuelists, used it to classify Spanish songs that were madrigalesque in character: imitative passages that frequently alternated with homophony; and the subject always one of love, and always treated seriously.[43] Francisco Guerrero used the term in the title of his *Canciones y*

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[40] Diego Pisador, in *Libro de música de vihuela* (1552), classed the following works as *villanescas:* 1) *A quand' haveva,* 4v. (f.89) by Willaert; 2) *La cortesía,* 3v. (f. 88) by Fontana; 3) *Lagrime mesti & voi sospir dolenti,* 4v. (ff. 89v-90) by Willaert; 4) *Madonna mi fa,* 4v. (ff. 89v-90v) by Willaert; 5) *Madonna mia la vostra,* 3v. (f. 87v) by Fontana; 6) O *bene mio fa,* 4v. (f. 90v-91) by Willaert; 7) *O dolce vita mia,* 3v. (f.87) by Fontana; 8) *Quanto debb'allegrarse,* 3v. (f. 89) by Fontana; 9) *Sempre me fing'o,* 4v. (ff. 88v-89), anonymous; 10) *Tutta s'arissi,* 3v. (f. 88). *lo ti voria contare* (f. 87) was not classed a *villanesca* by Pisador, but it too, like the other included works by Willaert and Fontana, is first found in Fontana's *Canzone villanesche* (1545). Miguel de Fuenllana, in *Orphenica lyra* (Seville, 1554), classed three songs *villanescas:* 1) *Madonna mia,* 3v. (f. 131 v) by Fontana, and is the same work that was also in Pisador; 2) *Oyme, oyme dolente,* 3v. (f. 131) by Nola; 3) *Quando ti veggio,* 3v. (ff. 130-131v), anonymous.

[41] Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music,* 217.

[42] Esteban Daza classed the following as *villanescas* in *El Parnasso* (Valladolid, 1576): 1) *Adios verde ribera,* 4v. (ff. 87v-88v) by Francisco Guerrero; 2) *Ay de mi, sin ventura,* 4v. (ff. 85v-87v) by Juan Navarro; 3) *Callese ya Mercurio,* 4v. (ff. 94-95v), anonymous; 4) *Dime, manso viento,* 4v. (93-94) by Rodrigo de Ceballos; 5) *Duro mal, terrible llanto,* 4v. (ff. 91 v-93) by Rodrigo de Ceballos; 6) *Esclarecida Juana,* 4v. (ff. 90v-91 v) by Villalar *[sic* - actually written by Francisco Guerrero); 7) *No vez amor,* 4v. (ff. 89-90v) by Juan Navarro; 8) *Pues ya las claras fuentes,* 4v. (ff. 84-85) by Rodrigo de Ceballos.

[43] Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music,* 217.

villanescas espirituales (Venice, 1589).[44] Robert Stevenson wrote: "Just as it is obvious that the term *[villanesca]* had been domesticated by 1576, so also it is immediately apparent to anyone who studies Guerrero's *Canciones y villanescas espirtuales* that in 1589 he understood the term wholly in the Spanish sense that Daza gave "villanesca" even if he did publish his collection at Venice."[45]

The term *canción* has a long and varied history of usage on the Iberian peninsula. Of course, in the generic sense, it may refer simply to a "song." However, there are several other meanings that the word may have held during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[46] According to the *Diccionario de la lengua española:*

> *canción* = 1. Composición en verso, que se canta, o hecha a propósito para que se pueda poner en música. / 2. Música con que se canta esta composición. / 3. Composición lírica a la manera italiana, dividida casi siempre en estancias largas, todas de igual número de versos endecasílabos y heptasílabos, menos la última, que es más breve. / 4. Antigua composición poética, que podía corresponder a distintos géneros, tonos y formas, muchas con todos los caracteres de la oda.[47]
>
> *canción* = 1. Composition on a verse that is sung, or that is written with the intention to be put to music. / 2. Music that is sung. / 3. Lyric composition in the Italian style, usually divided into long stanzas composed of hendecasyllabic and heptasyllabic verses, except for the final verse which is shorter. / 4. Ancient poetic composition, that could have corresponded to several distinct genres or forms, with characteristics of the ode.

Until the fifteenth century the term was used synonymously with *cantiga* (*'cantiga'* in Galician translates as *'canción'*), literally meaning 'song,' which is also the literal English translation of the Spanish word. The *canción* in musical sources first appeared in sources

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[44] Francisco Guerrero, *Canciones y Villanescas Espirituales*, ed. Miguel Querol Gavaldá. Monumentos de la Música Española 16/19 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1955/57).

[45] Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, 217.

[46] For contemporaneous definitions of *canción*, see Covarrubias *Tesoro de la lengua Castellano o Española* (1611), 256, and Gredos *Diccionario de autoridades* (1726), I: 109. This author consulted both sources but found the modern dictionary to be more useful for her needs.

[47] *Diccionario de la lengua española,* 21st ed., s.v. "Canción," <http://buscon.rae.es/drae> (accessed May 20, 2008).

from the Neapolitan court during the fifteenth century, and was marked by a level of sophistication wrought from an almost exclusive focus on the ideals of courtly love.[48] The fifteenth century *canción* was usually composed of an initial refrain of four or five lines *(estribillo)* followed by a single strophe of eight lines *(copla)* made up of two quatrains *(mudanza* and *vuelta)*. All lines normally consisted of eight syllables, and the rhyme of the *vuelta* was identical to that of the *estribillo*.[49]

		Copla	
	Estribillo	Mudanza	Vuelta
Poetry forms:	abab	cdcd	abab
	abbA	cdcd	abbA
	ababb	cdcd	ababb

Between the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries *canción* also referred to a specific type of refrain song, although it is unclear whether it was considered a separate genre to the villancico, since both were a type of refrain song and were exclusively composed of eight-syllable lines.[50] Earlier, Juan del Encina had differentiated between the two genres: "...if [the refrain] has two lines, we also call it *mote* or *villancico* ... if it has three complete lines or one broken one it will also be a *villancico* ... and if it is of four lines

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[48] Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: M Nijhoff, 1960), 209.

[49] Carolyn Ruby Lee "Spanish Polyphonic Song c. 1460-1535" (PhD diss., University ofLondon, 1981), 221-222.

[50] On the similarities and differences between the two forms, see Isabel Pope, "Musical and Metrical Form of the Villancico," *Annales musicologiques* (1954): 189-214; *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos. Cancionero Musical de Palacio (siglos XV-XVI)*, introduction and textual study by Jose Romeu Figueras, Monumentos de la Música Española, 14/1 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1965); Paul Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico,* Detroit Monographs in Music/Studies in Music 19 (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 1-10; and Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 122-189.

it may be a *canción*."[51] In practice, however, the distinction was less prescriptive. Lee has shown that the early difference between the *canción* and *villancico* which Encina may have been referring to seems to have disappeared around the turn of the century, "leaving *canción* and *villancico* musical settings indistinguishable in both form and style."[52]

During the 1540s, the term *canción* underwent a change in meaning; it began to be used as the equivalent of the Italian *canzone,* a variable combination of seven- and eleven-syllable freely rhyming lines, with each stanza ranging from five to twenty lines. In Mudarra's *Tres Libros* (1546), there were three *canciones* labelled in the book, two of which were written in the older form. The third was an Italianate *canción,* written by Juan Boscán and inspired by Petrarch's *Chiari fresche, e dolci aque.*[53] All three musical settings were fixed in AAB form and melodically repetitive, suggesting that the musical settings had not yet evolved into the through-composed form that later characterized the musical genre. During the same period, Valderrábano classed several types of songs as *canciones,* including Juan Vázquez's *Quien me otorgase, señora,* which was also found in Vázquez's own *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos* (1560), but labelled a *soneto.*[54]

Canción was often used to label a musical setting of an Italianate genre. The earliest known source to adopt the generic nomenclature for the Italianate genres was *Villancicos y Canciones* (Osuna, 1551) by Juan Vázquez, although his second publication less than a decade later used the term *soneto* to indicate the same type of song, even for the

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[51] Juan del Encina, *Cancionero* (Primera edición, 1496), published in facsimile by the Real Academia Española (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 1928), quoted in Pope, "Musical and Metrical Form," 193-194.

[52] Lee, "Spanish Polyphonic Song," 174.

[53] Ward, "The *vihuela,*" 287. The *canciones* set for voice and vihuela in Mudarra's *Tres Libros* (1546) were: 1) the anonymous *Sin dudar (cancion al milagro de la encarnacion)* (f. 15v); Jorge Manrique's *Recuerde el alma dormida* (f. 20); and Boscán's *Claros y frescos ríos* (f. 21).

[54] Since *Quien me otorgase, señora* does not fulfill the prosodic requirements of a sonnet, the term *soneto* was presumably used by Vásquez as a generic indicator for an Italianate setting.

several concordant works that had already appeared in the earlier print as *canciones*.[55] Francisco Guerrero also published his *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* using *canción* to apply to the different types of Italianate poetry settings.[56]

In Catalonia, Pere Alberch, Joan Brudieu, and Pedro Rimonte all classed their Italianate settings as *madrigales* (or *madrigal* in singular).[57] Others, such as Pedro Valenzuela and Sebastian Raval, worked abroad. It is notable these are the only two groups of Spanish composers to have used the term; no Andalusian or Castilian composer published works under the epithet *madrigal,* seemingly preferring the terms already explained above. Since the composers were presumably writing for foreign audiences, the composers or publishers may have used the term as a marketing technique; the term *madrigal* was widely used in other parts of Europe, and would have been easily recognizable by European patrons.

In the modern edition of MadM 6829, Miguel Querol identified some 50% of the Italianate settings as *madrigales,* using the term as a generic descriptor of "una poema breve, generalmente de tema amoroso, en que se combinan versos de siete y de once sílabas" ("a short poem, generally on the theme of love, which is comprised of seven- and eleven-syllable lines").[58] Within this designation, Querol specifically differentiated between

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[55] Juan Vázquez, in *Villancicos i canciones* (1551), classed the following works as *canciones:* 1) The anonymous sonnet *Quien dize quel Ausencia causa Olvido,* 3v. (no. 8); 2) *Quien amores tiene,* 4v. (no. 24); 3) Juan Boscán's *Gentil señora mía,* 4v. (no. 25); and 4) Garcilaso's sonnet *Gracias al cielo,* 4v. (no. 26).

[56] For a complete listing of Guerrero's *canciones* in *Canciones y villanescas espirituales,* see Herminio González Barrionuevo, *Francisco Guerrero* (1528-1599) *vida y obra: La música en la catedral de Sevilla a finales del siglo XVI* (Seville: Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral de Sevilla, 2000), 559.

[57] Pere Alberch i Ferrament alias Vila, *Odarum spiritualium* (Barcelona, 1560); and *Odarum (quas vulgo madrigales appellamus) ... liber primus* (Barcelona, 1561); Joan Brudieu, *De los madrigales del muy reverendo Ioan Brugieu maestro de capilla de la sancta yglesia de La Seo de Urgel a quatro bozes* (Barcelona, 1585); and Pedro Rimonte, *Parnaso Español de madrigales y villancicos a cuatro, cinco y seys* (Antwerp, 1614).

[58] "El *Cancionero de Medinaceli* cultiva con preferencia el género madrigal. Los compositores andaluces no empleaban, como tampoco los castellanos, la palabra *madrigal,* pero en realidad unos cincuenta números de este Vancionero son verdaderos madrigales y como tales los calificamos." *Cancionero de Medinaceli,* ed. Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la Música Española (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949-50), 1:9.

sonetos, villanescas, or *canciones*. This differentiation between the Italianate genres was primarily based on the labeling of concordant settings found in other printed sources. However, Querol also used the term *canción* to designate a setting of an older-style *cancionero* poem, replete with eight-syllable lines and a treatment of love markedly different to the Italianate genres. Given that this study has shown that there were great inconsistencies between contemporaneous usages of terminology, it seems pertinent to question the validity of Querol's own terminological designations that separate the Italianate genres. This ambiguity may cause some confusion for the modern reader, and for this reason, in this study the poems are described as 'Italianate genres', and wherever possible, their formal verse-type is noted.[59] The remainder of this chapter examines the particular features of the Italianate-genre poems in MadM 6829.[60]

The majority of texts in MadM 6829 were written in freely alternating seven- and eleven-syllable lines and no fixed rhyme scheme, akin to the Italian *canzone*. The following example is the first stanza from *Claros y frescos ríos* (CM, no. 5), one of Juan Boscán's most famous works:[61]

¡Claros y frescos ríos	Clear and fresh rivers
que mansamente bais	that gently flow
siguiendo vuestro natural camino!	following your natural path!
¡Desiertos montes míos	My deserted mountains
que en un estado estáis	that remain in a state
de soledad contino!	of continuous solitude!
¡Aves en quien hay tino	Birds who have the skill
de descansar cantando!	to sing while resting!
¡Árboles que bibís y al fin morís:	Trees that live and in the end die:
oydme juntamente	together, listen to me,

[59] If we were to consider the forms already outlined in this chapter, a more appropriate distinction between the works may be to identify: eight sonnets and six *octavas reales,* with the remaining Italianate works employing seven and eleven syllable line with no fixed rhyme scheme.

[60] See Appendix 1 for a full listing of incipits and those 72 out of 101 vernacular settings of MadM 6829 included in this study as 'Italianate genres."

[61] Navarrete, *Orphans,* 81.

mi boz amarga, ronca y muy doliente.	my bitter, broken and pained voice.[62]

The rhyme scheme and line lengths (abCabccdEfF)[63] are irregularly spaced. There is frequent enjambment between the lines. Except for the opening lines, which paint the classic image of "clear" and "fresh" nature, the landscape is desolate: the mountains are "deserted" and in a constant state of "solitude." We may speculate that the landscape may function as a mirror of the poet's own loneliness and melancholy. A plain and abstract endurance of suffering dominates the poetic language, and is reminiscent of the traditional *cancionero* aesthetics which were typically much less subjective than the Petrarchan mode of expression.[64] Similarly, the dry depiction of the landscape is far from a typical Petrarchan description replete with vivid adjectives and antitheses.

There were eight sonnets included in MadM 6829, all of which have the rhyme scheme ABBAABBA CDE CDE (or some variation thereof).[65] The following example is *Pasando el mar* (CM, no. 83), written by Garcilaso. It was one of his most famous works during the sixteenth century, a reworking of an epigram by Martial on the character Leander:

Passando el mar Leandro el animoso, en amoroso fuego todo ardiendo, esforçó el viento, y fuésse embraveçiendo el agua con un ynpetu furioso.	While the courageous Leander was crossing the sea, all burning with the fire of love, the wind picked up, and the water became rougher with a furious impetus.
Vençido del trabaxo presuroso de contrastar las ondas, no pudiendo, y más del bien que allí perdía muriendo, que de su propia vida congoxoso,	Overcome by the strain and effort, no longer able to fight the waves, and rather dying because of happiness lost than concerned for his own life,
como pudo, esforçó su boz cansada, y a las ondas habló d'esta manera, (mas nunca fué su boz d'ellas oyda):	he raised his tired voice as much as he could and spoke to the waves as follows, but they never heard the voice:
-Ondas, pues no s'escusa que yo muera, dexadme allá llegar y, a la tornada,	"Waves, since it is not permitted that I escape death, let me reach the other side, and when I return,

[62] Translation by this author.

[63] Lower-case letters imply a seven-syllable line, and upper-case one of eleven-syllables.

[64] David H. Darst, *Juan Boscán*, Twayne World Author Series 475 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 54.

[65] See discussion of the sonnet in Spanish sources in this study, above.

vuestro furor esecutá en mi vida.	vent your fury on my life.[66]

The poem was written in the third person, which distanced it from the subjectivity of many of Garcilaso's other works. As Randel observed, the most significant thing to note is that when Garcilaso abandoned poetic subjectivity and turned to an external model, the influence of Petrarch was substantially less, if not completely gone.[67] Rivers noted that in place of the poet's subjectivity, objectified images dominated the narration.[68] In both *Passando el mar* and *Claros y frescos ríos* we can see see that Petrarchan imagery and conceits have a prominent role, but do not dominate the poetry; there are more threads to the poetry than Petrarchan imitation.

There are six *octavas reales* (a Spanish verse form that corresponds to the Italian *ottava rima)* in MadM 6829. The *octava real* is a short poem of only eight lines, all of which contain eleven syllables, and the rhyme scheme is always ABABABCC.[69] The following example, *Aquella boz de Cristo* (CM, no. 39), is a spiritual text, written by an anonymous author:

Aquella boz de Cristo tan sonora que tiene suspendidos los oyentes, su muerte como cisne canta y llora, con ella libertando a todas gentes.	That sweet voice of Christ which holds entranced listeners, like the swan who sings and laments his death, with it, freeing all people.
Viendo que se açercava ya la hora, el pan tomó en sus manos tan potentes; pelícano piadoso se mostrava, pues carne y sangre suya a todos dava.	Seeing that the hour was near, he took the bread in his powerful hands; he revealed himself to be a dedicated pelican, since he gave his flesh and blood to everyone.[70]

Immediately evident in *Aquella boz* is the moralizing theme, which dominates the language. The only vivid adjective used in the language was to describe the "sweet" voice of Christ;

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[66] Translation from Rivers, *Renaissance and Baroque Spanish Poetry,* 38.

[67] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 67.

[68] Rivers, *Renaissance and Baroque Spanish Poetry,* 36.

[69] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 66.

[70] Translation by this author.

other adjectives such as "powerful" and "dedicated" were also used, although lacking the colour of the first example. The other nouns are colourless: neither the swan nor the bread merit any description at all. The moralizing theme dominated several other works in MadM 6829, too. In *Quan bienaventurado* (CM, no. 69), the composer chose to set only the first stanza of Garcilaso's second eclogue. Randel suggested that it was the overt moralizing theme of the first stanza that appealed to the composer rather than the novelty in form, or classical references. The first stanza is the only one in the work with a moralizing theme; the rest painted a more typical pastoral scene, which described, as Randel put it, the "sights, sounds, and smells of the country life which is being extolled."[71]

¡Quán bienaventurado	How blessed
aquél puede llamarse	can that man call himself
que con la dulçe soledad se abraça	who clings to sweet solitude
y bibe descuydado	and lives free from cares
y lexos de enpacharse	and far from the burdens
en lo que el alma ynpide y enbaraça!	that hinder and obstruct the soul!
No vee la llena plaça,	He sees not the teeming plaza,
ni la soberbía puerta	nor the haughty door
de los grandes señores,	of great lords,
ni los aduladores;	nor flatterers,
a quien la hanbre del fabor despierta;	whom greed for favor stirs;
no le será forçoso	he will not be compelled
rogar, fingir, temer y estar quexoso.	to beg, to feign, to fear, and to be fretful.

Petrarchan conceits are not absent from the poem; the usage of descriptive adjectives in front of the nouns ("dulce soledad", "llena plaça", etc), one of the most important changes that the Italianate genres brought to the Castilian lyric tradition, is certainly present in the poem. However, the imagery is rather plain ("haughty door", "great lords") and lacking vividness. The dominant theme is of the piety of the protagonist. Indeed, moralizing themes played a dominant role in a large proportion of the poems in MadM 6829; Querol listed six

[71] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony, 69. Translation of *Quan bienaventurado* also taken from the same source, 68-69.

vernacular works that he deemed spiritual, which specifically had themes relating to the Virgin Mary or Christ.

Adjacent to *Quán bienaventurado* in MadM 6829 is, *Huyd, huyd* (CM, no. 70), another moralizing poem which blurs the boundaries between sacred and secular:

Huyd, huyd, o çiegos amadores,	Flee, flee, o blind lovers,
d'un çiego amor, que el tiempo puede tanto,	from blind love, for time's power is such
que en un punto convierte el gozo en llanto	that in an instant it changes joy to weeping
y el rregalo menor en mill dolores.	and the smallest pleasure to a thousand pains.
Huyd, huyd sus gustos y fabores,	Flee, flee its pleasures and its favors,
antes que el mundo os ligue de tal suerte	before the world entraps you so
que no's valga rremedio que se haga.	that nothing can be done to help you.
Huyd, huyd, que es cosa horrible y fuerte	Flee, flee, for it's cruel and hard
que sirváis a un señor que da por paga	that you should serve a master who gives for wages
suspiros, dolor, llanto, angustia y muerte.	sighs, grief, weeping, anguish, and death.[72]

Huyd, huyd was set by Francisco Guerrero, and it was the only work in Guerrero's *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* concordant with MadM 6829 to not to have been transformed *a lo divino:* the spiritual implications of the poem were strong enough for it to remain unchanged in the religious collection.[73] Randel notes that, although the poem makes use of the Italianate verse type, the treatment of love recalls the tradition of courtly rather than Petrarchan love.[74]

Like the Italianate poems already looked at (above), the villancicos included in MadM 6829 seem to have been of particularly grave character. Although the Italianate genres dominate the manuscript, there were seventeen *villancico* and three *romance* settings included, and such a persistence of local genres and traditions is a theme in MadM 6829 that requires a closer look. Furthermore, we must remember that MadM 6829 is an anomaly in

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[72] Translation by King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales,*" 202-203.

[73] An *a lo divino* poem is one that was originally secular, but later made religious. On the *a lo divino* poetic phenomenon in Spain, and its relationship to contrafacta traditions in other countries, see Bruce Wardropper, *Historia de la poesía lírica a lo divino en la cristiandad occidental* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1958); and John Crosbie, *A lo divino lyric poetry: an alternative view,* Durham Modern Languages Series HM5 (Durham: University of Durham, 1985).

[74] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 76.

the context of the sixteenth century Spanish secular song tradition; the overwhelming majority of surviving musical settings from other sources were written in the traditional forms.[75] The following villancico, *Pues que no puedo olvidarte* (CM, no. 32) gives an example of the type of *cancionero* writing that was not particularly evocative or expressive:[76]

Pues que no puedo olvidarte,	*Since I cannot forget you,*
¡tómete el diablo,	*may the devil capture you,*
llévete el diablo,	*may the devil take you away,*
el diablo que haya en ti parte!	*may the devil get you!*
Elvira, pese a malgrado,	Elvira, despite your unwillingness,
quiéreme, siquiera un día	love me, even if only for a day
que, ¡boto a diez! vida mía,	since,I swear to God, my life
que bibo desesperado.	that is hopelessly lived
Si en pago de mi cuydado	If, in return for my care
en ti crece el descuydarte,	your neglect grows,
¡tómete el diablo,	*may the devil capture you,*
llévete el diablo,	*may the devil take you away,*
el diablo que haya en ti parte!	*may the devil get you!*[77]

The only adjective in the villancico is "desesperado" ("hopelessly"), giving a dry flavour to the poet's lament. The typical theme of endurance and suffering is pervasive, as the poet "hopelessly" lives his life, which endlessly continues as Elvira's "neglect" for him "grows." The writing seems hardly enough to inspire extensive opportunity for musical expression.

Rarely do the poems in MadM 6829 fully depart into Petrarchan flights of fancy that characterize the works of Petrarch or those of his imitators. Nor did the classical and local poetic models ever completely lose favour with the Garcilaso and Spanish imitators during the sixteenth century. It seems that the composers, or compilers, of MadM 6829 preferred the more grave style represented in the works, in which the poets worked to maintain an "aesthetic distance." In their selections, it appears they intentionally selected works that

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[75] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 66.

[76] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 77-78. For an extensive discussion of expressive techniques used in this style of villancico text-setting, see Rosanne King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*," 72-123.

[77] Translation by this author.

retained a gravity, rigidity, and moralizing flavour. Consequently, they seem to have ignored the bulk of the Italianate innovations brought to the Spanish lyric tradition. Although the majority of these poems were written in the Spanish Italianate tradition, the particular nature of those chosen for musical setting in MadM 6829 seem to display affinities with those contemporary *villancicos* that were more typically sought for musical settings. Gravity in expression and clarity of thematic exegesis can thus be said to be defining features of the poetic repertory in MadM 6829.

Chapter 3:

Musical Style and Artifice in MadM 6829

Despite the popularity of neo-Petrarchan verse in Spain during the sixteenth century, very few musical settings of such poetry survive. Although the genre attracted Some of the most respected Spanish composers during the sixteenth century, output was not prolific enough during the sixteenth century, and nor did it continue for long enough into the seventeenth to facilitate significant stylistic developments similar to that characterized the madrigal phenomenon in Italy; of the secular settings, the fixed-form *villancico* remained the most popular Spanish genre, followed by the *romance*. Nevertheless, the formal freedom of the Italianate poetic genres must have presented exciting expressive possibilities for Some Spanish composers, including those whose works were included in MadM 6829. It is well known that Italian madrigalists included in their settings musical interpretations and mimeses of poetic subjects and imagery. Similarly, such music-poetry correspondences were common in the MadM 6829 repertory.

In the preface to the modern edition of MadM 6829, Querol briefly identified Some of the most obvious madrigalisms in the collection. Indeed, for him, the use of such musical artifices proved that the works were madrigals in style although not by name: "The *Cancionero de Medinaceli* displays a preference for the madrigal genre. Neither Andalusian nor Castilian composers employed the word 'madrigal,' but in reality, Some fifty settings of this Cancionero are true madrigals."[1] Querol observed that the "idea of the force of the wind," "description of a wriggling snake," or a "feeling of intense pain" were all set to

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[1] "El *Cancionero de Medinaceli* cultiva con preferencia el género madrigal. Los compositores andaluces no empleaban, como tampoco los castellanos, la palabra *madrigal,* pero en realidad unos cincuenta números de este Cancionero son verdaderos madrigales y como es los calificamos." *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, ed. Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la Música Española (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949-50), I:9.

ascending quaver passages.[2] Where there were exclamations in the text, they were often set apart from a musical phrase, separated from the rest of the phrase by tutti rests, emotional states such as confusion were set to rhythmically unstable passages, and so on. While Querol's observations were accurate, they failed to systematize the specific poetic themes that warranted musical mimesis, nor did he comprehensively detail the ways in which melodic, rhythmic, textural, or harmonic procedures were manipulated to achieve the mimeses. The aim of this chapter, then, is to complete these unfinished tasks in order to understand more fully the text-music relationship of the repertory. Beginning with an overview of the madrigal phenomenon in Spain, this chapter summarizes the main musical features of the Italianate settings in the manuscript before investigating the ways in which composers used musical artifices to cultivate a close text-music relationship.

Spanish composers who worked and published abroad seem to have participated more actively in the international madrigal phenomenon than those who remained in Spain. Pedro Valenzuela *(fl.* 1569-79) and Sebastián Raval (ca.1550-1604) were composers of Spanish origin who spent their careers in Italy.[3] Both produced collections of Italian madrigals, and actively participated in Italian musical culture. However, it seems that neither ever sought to reach Spanish audiences; there is no record of either composer setting Castilian-texted poetry, nor were their works distributed in Spain. Rather, their Italian madrigals were exclusively written for Italian audiences.

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[2] "En este sentido observamos, por ejemplo, como la idea de la fuerza de la viento en la frase "suele ir de varios vientos contrastada" (27), o las palabras "más que un serpiente ayrada" (31), o la del rigor, "que si acaso el rigor le dura una hora" (34), "Y a enemigo viento y mar airado" (45), "contrario el viento y vame amenazando" (33), los traducen siempre sus autores por escalas ascendentes de corcheas ... " Querol, ed, *Cancionero de Medinaceli,* 1:9. The numbers in this quote indicate the setting number from the modern edition.

[3] Each published at least one book of collected Italian madrigal s: Pedro Valenzuela, *Madrigali ... libro primo,* (Venice, 1578); Sebastian Raval, *Il primo libro de madrigali,* (Venice, 1593); *Madrigali,* (Rome, 1595).

Mateo Flecha 'el Joven' (ca. 1530-1604), another Spanish composer who spent the majority of his working life abroad, produced a collection of Italian-texted madrigals.[4] After spending nine years in the service of the Spanish *infantas* María and Juana (daughters of Carlos V), Flecha spent Some time as a Carmelite friar before developing his career in Italy, Austria and Hungary. He eventually returned to live in Spain only in retirement. Yet, Flecha maintained contact with Spanish audiences; he often returned to Spain for official business, and one work in his collection of madrigals is a Spanish villancico. However, Flecha also is not known to have set any Castilian neo-Petrarchan poetry to music, thus remaining an outsider to the Spanish madrigal repertory.

Musical culture in the Catalan-speaking provinces seems to have been in close contact with contemporary developments in Italy. The geographical positioning of Valencia, its maritime trade connections, and the self-conscious promotion of scholarly and cultural activity within the court of don Fernando de Aragón, Duke of Calabria, and Queen Germana de Foix, all facilitated contact with cultures across the Mediterranean.[5] Such an environment fostered the only sixteenth century Spanish musical publications to use the word "madrigal" as a generic descriptor in their titles, written by Catalan composers Pere Alberch i Ferrament alias Vila (1517-1582) and Joan Brudieu (ca. 1520-1591).

Pere Alberch was an outstanding organist who was also a significant composer. He grew up in a family of distinguished instrumentalists, and held the official position of organist at Barcelona cathedral from 1536 until his death more than forty years later. In 1561 Alberch published his first collection of Castilian- and Catalan-texted madrigals for four,

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[4] Mateo Flecha, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali*, ed. Maricarmen Gómez, (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1985).

[5] Bernadette Nelson, "The Court of don Fernando de Aragon, Duke of Calabria in Valencia, c. 1526-c. 1560: Music, letters and the meeting of cultures," *Early Music* 32, no. 2 (2004): 195. Nelson discusses sixteenth century Valencia as an important centre for the arts and scholarly activity in Spain, and particularly as a hub of contact with Italy and northern Europe.

five and six voices.[6] Several well-known Spanish poets, including Garcilaso de la Vega and fourteenth century poet Ausías March were represented. His second published collection of madrigals contained only spiritual madrigals.[7]

In 1585, Joan Brudieu, a French-born composer who spent the majority of his working life as *maestro de capilla* in Sea d'Urguel, a small town near Barcelona, published a collection of madrigals, *De los madrigales* ... (Barcelona, 1585).[8] Like Alberch, he selected sixteen poems in Catalan and Castilian for original musical settings, including works by Ausías March and other local poets. Many settings were quite long, and were divided into several *partes*. Whilst several poems were written in decasyllabic meter rather than the freely spaced seven- and eleven-syllable lines of the Italianate genres, Brudieu saw fit to describe the works as *'madrigales,'* probably because March himself was aligned with the Petrarchan tradition of emotional similes and comparisons as a means of discourse.[9] The musical settings, too, display a self-conscious and expressive text-music relationship. Most works contain extensive text repetition; individual words may be repeated for particular declamatory or rhetorical emphasis, and entire lines may be treated in the same fashion. Dissonances and cross-relations play a greater part than in many other Spanish secular song settings of the time, and often correspond to the emotional climaxes of the poem. The musical style is generally austere, with clearly defined musical motifs for each line of text,

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[6] Pere Alberch i Ferrament alias Vila, *Odarum (quas vulgo madrigales appellamus) ... liber primus* (Barcelona, 1561). Altus only. Not available in modern edition; housed in Barcelona, Biblioteca Catalunya; see *RISM* V1547.

[7] Pere Alberch i Ferrament alias Vila, *Odarum spiritualium ... liber secundus* (Barcelona, 1560). Altus only. Not available in modern edition; housed in Barcelona, Biblioteca Catalunya; see *RISM* V1548.

[8] Joan Brudieu *De los madrigales del muy reverendo loan Brugieu maestro de capilla de la sancta yglesia de La Seo de Urgel a quatro bozes* (Barcelona, 1585). Available in modern edition: Joan Brudieu, *Els Madrigals i la Missa de Difunts d'en Brudieu,* ed. Felipe Pedrell and Higini Anglés, Diputatión Provincial, Biblioteca Centra, Sección de Música, Publicaciones 1 (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis Catalans, 1921); and Joan Brudieu, *Madrigals* 1, ed. Tomeu Quetgles Pons (Barcelona: DINSIC Publications Musicals, 2001).

[9] Robert Archer, ed, *Ausías March: A Key Anthology* (England: Anglo-Catalan Society, 1992), 12. 10 The observations on Brudieu's musical style in this paragraph are based on King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales,*" 129-133.

frequent cadences, and mild dissonance all contributory to the constant sense of steady forward movement. Perhaps due to the particular poetic language chosen by Brudieu, which contained notably fewer adjectives and less poetic subjectivity than that in MadM 6829, explicit madrigalisms are quite rare in Brudieu's musical settings. King suggested that Brudieu's madrigals, as the only complete surviving source of the Catalan madrigal repertory, represent the fundamental compositional approach of the Catalans to the madrigal genre.[10]

Judging by their choices when setting poetry to music, Sevillian and Castilian composers seem to have preferred the contemporaneous poetry of local writers Gutierre de Cetina and Baltasar de Alcázar, along with works by the famous Castilian poet Garcilaso de la Vega.[11] In the preface to Guerrero's collected spiritual madrigals and villancicos, *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (Venice, 1589), Cristóbal Mosquera de Figueroa asserted that many of the works, including *Ojos claros y serenos* (the opening setting of MadM 6829), were written in Guerrero's youth and were only later transformed *a lo divino* for the collection published around forty years later. Some twelve of Guerrero's original settings of secular neo-Petrarchan poetry survive in MadM 6829, making him the best-represented composer in the manuscript.[12]

Mosquera de Figueroa commented that Guerrero was well-regarded amongst his contemporaries because of his skill in suitably matching music to text:

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[10] The observations on Brudieu's musical style in this paragraph are based on King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*," 129-133.

[11] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the poetic formal types and subject matter in MadM 6829. See Chapter 1 for a listing of known poets with works in the manuscript.

[12] For a full listing of concordant sources of Guerrero's secular settings, see King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales*," 13. Please refer to Querol, *Cancionero de Medinaceli*, I:22-30 for brief introductions to all identified composers with secular works in MadM 6829, including important names such as Juan Navarro, Ginés de Morata, Rodrigo de Ceballos and Antonio Cebrían.

> Just as Aristoxenus was preeminent among the Greeks, Boethius among the Romans, Morales among the Italians *[sic]*, Josquin among the French and Picards, and Gombert among the Flemish, so among the Spanish Francisco Guerrero stands out. In his copious and elegant polyphonic compositions he has omamented our Spain; for so widely has his fame traveled among all disceming musicians that no collector thinks his library complete without works by the celebrated Guerrero. Among his merits that deserve applause are his pioneering success in fitting music to Spanish verse so that the very life and rhythm of the poetry are preserved.[13]

Mosquera de Figueroa elevated Guerrero above all other Spanish composers living and dead by extolling his skills in preserving the "life and rhythm" of the poetry in text-setting. His emphasis on the importance of text gives Some indication of the weight the text must have held in composers' minds.

Juan Vázquez (ca. 1500-ca. 1560), too, praised Francisco Guerrero for his expressive text-setting in the dedication to his *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a quatro y a cinco de luan Vasquez* (Seville, 1560), lauding Guerrero as having solved the mystery linking music and letter: " ... One of those [men] our Seville may claim is Francisco Guerrero, who has penetrated the secret of music and the affects of the word."[14] In the same dedication, Vázquez stated that the goal of any secular song setting was to "dress the spirit of the Words with the Music that best suits it," and that was what he strove to do in his own works.[15] In both of his publications, Vázquez included a sampling of madrigal settings along with the

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[13] Francisco Guerrero, *Canciones y villanescas espirituales de Francisco Guerrero (Venice,1589)*, preface by Mosquera de Figueroa. *Opera Omnia*, transo Vicente García, introduction by Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la Música Española 16 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1955); translation in Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 184. Also notable is Mosquera de Figueroa's assertion that Cristóbal de Morales (ca. 1500-1553) was Italian. It is possible that Mosquera's amateur status as a musician, albeit well-informed, led him to assume that Morales was indeed Italian, although rather more likely is that Mosquera was in fact referring to Morales' heavy involvement with Italian musical culture, foreigner or not.

[14] " Uno de los quales nuestra Sevilla tiene y goza que es Francisco Guerrero, que tanto lo secreto de la música á penetrado, y los afectos de la letra en ella tan al bivo mostrado," quoted in Juan Vázquez, *Villancicos y Canciones*, ed. Eleanor Russell, Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance 104 (Madison: A-R Editions, c1995), page xviiin. Translation by this author.

[15] Vázquez, *Villancicos*, xi.

more common villancicos, and was clearly preoccupied with the relationship between poetry and music, duly observed in his expressive compositional techniques in both types of settings. Although he rarely included so-called "madrigalisms" in his writing, he was careful to pay attention to text declamation and the emotional qualities of any given line. Additionally, Vázquez emphasized formal structures such as rhyme schemes with musical reprises and strong cadences.[16] The structural text-music relationship, then, was one of the prime compositional considerations in his works.

Several scholars have noted the stylistic similarities between MadM 6829 and the early Italian madrigals written by composers such as Arcadelt and Verdelot.[17] The comparison is justified by the predominance in both repertories of alternating polyphonic and homophonic passages, duple meter, frequent pairing of voices, through-composed works, and simple tonal organization. Furthermore, in both repertories, the greatest amount of imitation and text repetition is saved for the final line, while the middle passages tend to be shorter, with frequent cadences marking the end of each line.[18]

Spanish song settings had long favoured syllabic declamation over extended melismatic passages, and usually adhered to natural speech patterns.[19] In MadM 6829, where melismas do appear, they are mainly melodic ornamentation rather than an elongated setting of a line of text. An example of typical melismatic embellishment of a cadence point

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[16] Eleanor Ann Russell, "Villancicos and other secular polyphonic music of Juan Vasquez: a courtly tradition in Spain's Siglo del oro," (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970).

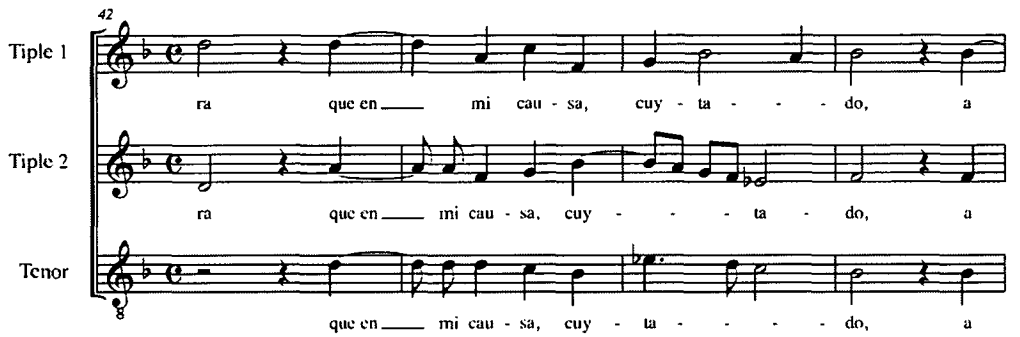
[17] Paul R. Laird, *Towards a History of the Spanish Villancico* Detroit Monographs in Musicl Studies in Music 19 (Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 1997), 21-22; Don M. Randel, "Sixteenth century Spanish polyphony and the poetry of Garcilaso," *The Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (January, 1974): 61-79; and John Griffiths, "The Transmission of Secular Polyphony," in *Encomium Musicae: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, ed. David Crawford & G. Grayson Wagstaff (New York: Pendragon Press, 2002).

[18] Griffiths, "The Transmission of secular polyphony," 336.

[19] Laird, *Towards a History*, 9-10. Laird explains that from the first musical appearance of the villancico around 1490, even short melismas quickly fell out of favour.

is found in *Frescura soberana* (CM, no. 88), an anonymous setting for three voices (Figure 3.1):

Figure 3.1. Anonymous, *Frescura soberana,* mm. 42-45



The voices were set to a cadence over the word "cuytado," with a descending quaver passage in Tiple 2 (measure 44). The other two parts also departed from the predominantly syllabic setting.

Latin rules of prosody were closely observed to facilitate aural comprehension of the text in the syllabic settings.[20] The natural speech rhythms of the text were consistently adapted to musical settings, and specifically, the final syllable of a line was never accorded an embellishment. In MadM 6829, the stressed penultimate syllable of a standard *verso llano* was always allocated a longer metric value than the unstressed final syllable, and additionally, was usually embellished by melodic ornamentation.

Occasionally poetic license was taken that disrupted the regular syllabic stress pattern. In Spanish prosody, a *verso agudo* differs from the standard verso llano in that the ultimate, rather than penultimate syllable of the line is stressed. *Claros y frescos ríos* (CM, no. 5), written by Juan Boscán, contains both versos agudos and versos llanos.[21] In a typical

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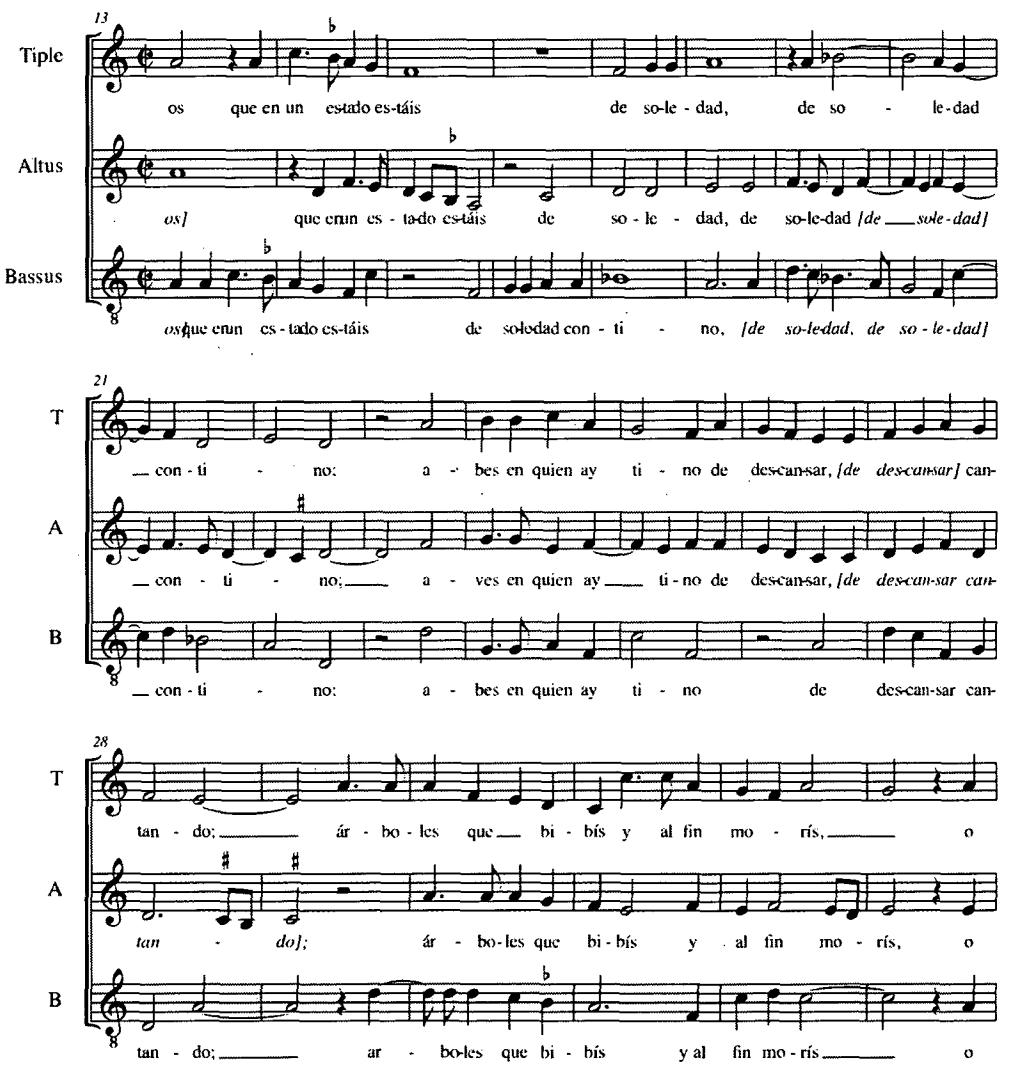
[20] Gioseffo Zarlino, *Institutioni Harmonische,* ed. Gary Tomlinson, in *Source Readings in Music History,* revised edition, ed. Oliver Strunk and Leo Treitler (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), 436-461.

[21] See page 54 of this study for the poem in full, along with an English translation.

example of a musical setting of a verso llano, the stressed penultimate syllable of the line "de soledad contino" ("of continuous solitude") was set to a slightly elongated note in all voices leading to the final cadence, shaping the musical phrase to come to a close in adherence to the natural rhythm of speech (measures 19-21, Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2. Anonymous, *Claros y frescos ríos*, mm. 13-33



In the same musical example, over the *versos agudos* "que en un estado estáis" and "árboles que bibís y al fin morís" (measures 13-15 and 29-33), the syllabic emphasis was markedly

different.[22] Rather than an elongation of the penultimate syllable, the final note is elongated reflecting the textual accent. Further, the composer demonstrated an awareness of the relative speed of articulation within the text. He set "de soledad" to a dotted rhythm, with the very unaccented middle syllable of "soledad" accorded only a quaver note-value (measure 19). The dotted rhythm was augmented on the repeat of the words in the following measure. Demonstrable compositional concern towards the natural speech rhythm of the text are quite common throughout the manuscript.

In 1555 music theorist Juan Bermudo advised aspiring composers to ascribe to the vogue of imitative or free counterpoint:

> Flee accented homophony as the plague. Fifty years ago - and even during the later years when I was being brought up *canto golpeado* (strummed music) was in style. But now the vogue has shifted to music so linked and so tied that the voice-parts scarcely ever strike a consonance - more especially a perfect one - together.[23]

Bermudo was describing the style of multilayered polyphony that was popular throughout Europe, including with Spanish church composers. Indeed, the texture of settings in MadM 6829 frequently alternated between animated homophony and free or imitative counterpoint. However, the contrapuntal technique in MadM 6829 serves less to "interlock phrases" (in Bermudo's words) than to acknowledge appropriate points for pause in the poetry. Cadences are frequently sign-posted by a heightening of tension, and are sometimes followed by a general pause ranging from a quaver to minim beat before starting the subsequent musical phrase. The beginning and end of each line is clearly delineated, particularly at points of structural importance, such as the end of a quatrain. Sometimes composers markedly lessen the strength of a cadence, or even avoid it completely, over poetic enjambments. For

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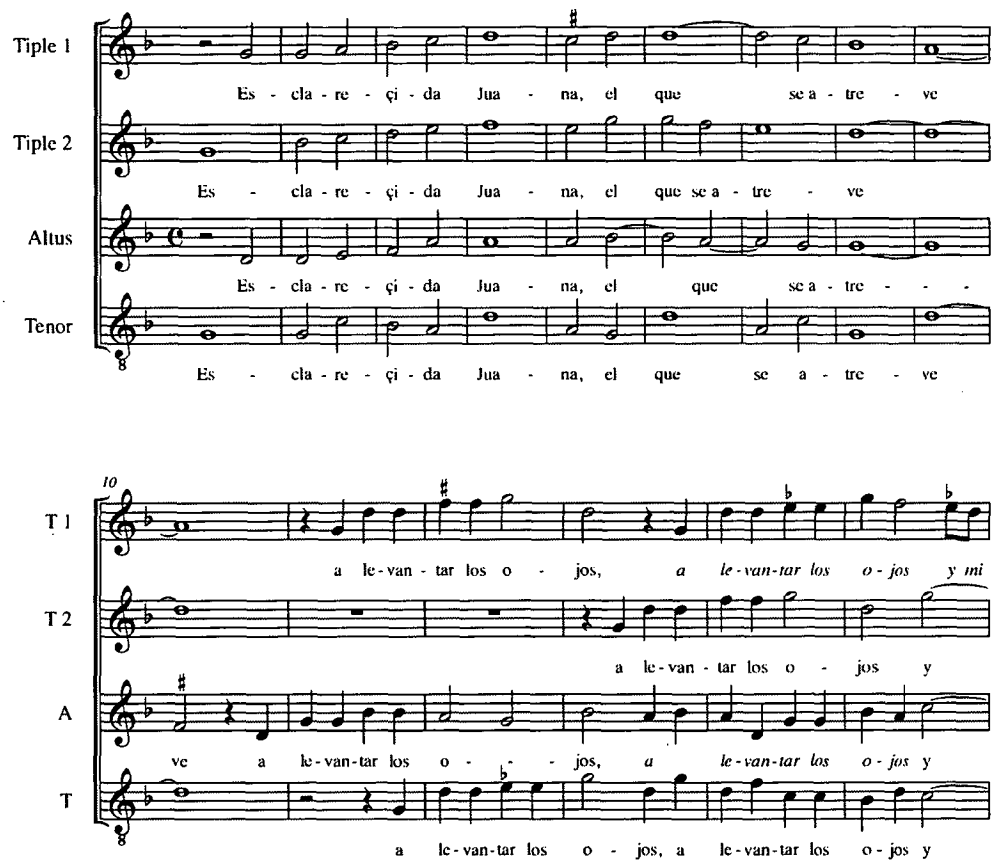
[22] English translations, respectively: "in the state you're in;" and "trees that live, and in the end die." Translation by this author.

[23] Juan Bermudo, *Declaración*, (1555), quoted and translated in Robert Stevenson, *Juan Bermudo*, (The Hague: Martin Nijhoff, 1960), 70.

example, in Francisco Guerrero's *Esclarecida Juana* (CM, no. 92), Guerrero chose to interrupt the cadence on D marking the end of the line "Esclareçida Juana, el que se atreve" ("Shining Juana, he who dares") with the Tiple as it begins the new melody over the line "a levantar los ojos y mirarte" ("to raise his eyes and look at you") (Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3. Francisco Guerrero, *Esclareçida Juana*, mm. 1-15



While the other vocal parts hold their cadential sonority for a full breve, the Altus finishes its F-sharp two beats before the other three parts, and interrupts the cadence by entering with the new line, starting on D (measure 10). In this way, Guerrero maintained the musical movement by joining the two lines, but did not seamlessly merge the two lines into one long phrase. However, he does not always treat poetic enjambment as such; it is not uncommon

to encounter full cadences at points of enjambment.[24] Thus, it seems that Spanish composers only observed poetic enjambment when it suited them.

The openings of the works in MadM 6829 typically begin with a short musical motif over the first line of poetry, and quickly cadence within four measures, at the conclusion of the first line. The same motif will occasionally be repeated verbatim or with a minor variation such as a fuller voicing. Following this, the subsequent line may be set to either the same texture, or alternate between homophony and polyphony. Rarely do any of the works maintain complicated contrapuntal techniques such as extended passages of strict double counterpoint, and there were no mensuration canons nor similar techniques included in the repertory. However, Spanish composers were certainly familiar with complex contrapuntal techniques, instances of which can be found in the best mass settings of the sixteenth century.[25] Since the majority of known composers were professionals who were educated through the church system, the perceived differences between sacred and secular works were likely too great for composers to feel comfortable in applying the same affective complicated techniques to the secular MadM 6829 settings.

The unique musical phrases crafted to each line of poetry are short and clearly defined. Within a work, the texture frequently alternates between imitative polyphony and declamatory homophonic writing. Imitative passages are often broken by a cadence point at the end of a line, sometimes followed by a general pause and a line of homophonic declamation with all four parts in syllabic unison. Such dramatic points in the music are usually matched to an emotional or exegetical poetic climax. A typical example is found in the climactic exclamation "¡Ay, tormentos raviosos¡" ("Oh, raging torments!") towards the end of Francisco Guerrero's setting of *Ojos claros y serenos* (CM, no. 1) (Figure 3.4):

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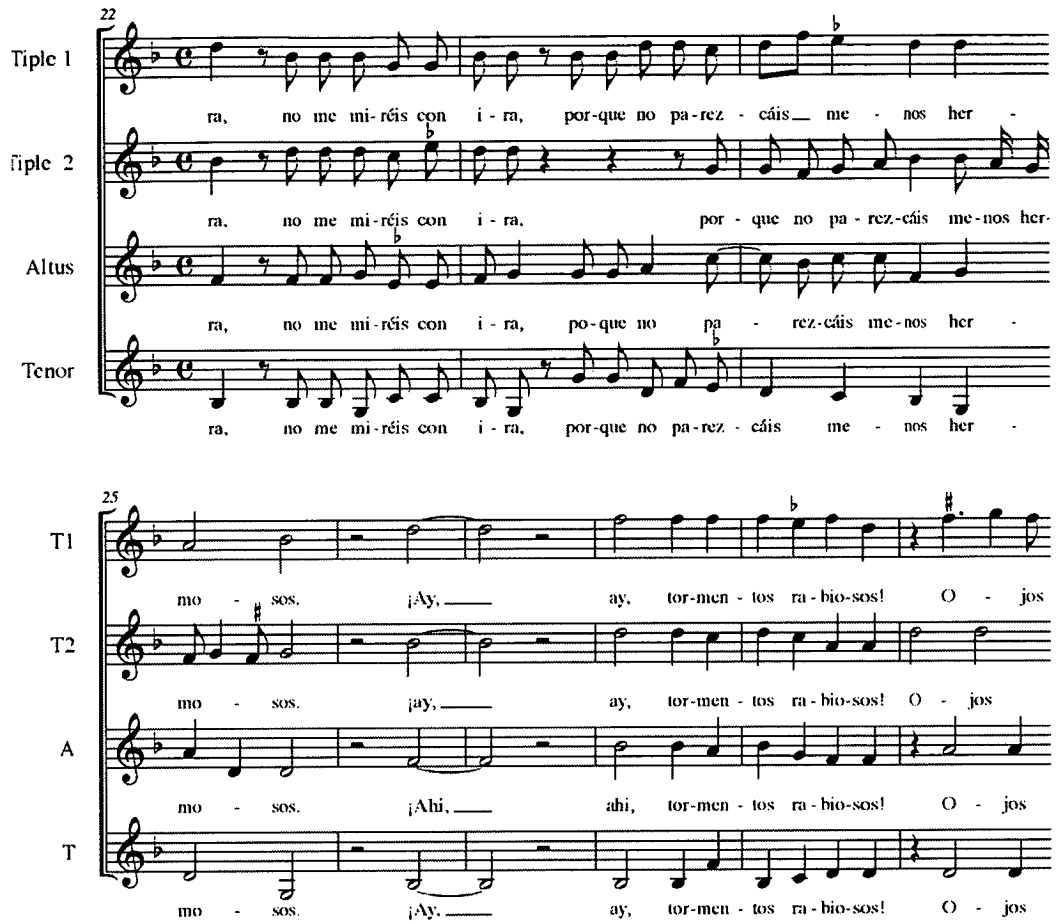
[24] Chapter 4 of this study provides an examination of some such occurrences, and questions why the composer may or may not have treated poetic enjambment with an expected musical setting.

[25] For example, in the mass settings of Francisco Guerrero, Cristóbal de Morales, or Tomás Luis de Victoria.

Figure 3.4. Francisco Guerrero, *Ojos claros y serenos,* mm. 22-30



Over the lines "no me miréis con ira, / porque no parezcáis menos hermosos" ("Don't look at me in anger,/ because [your eyes] won't appear less beautiful") (measures 22-25), the texture is of reasonably simple polyphony, with rapid quaver movement in an expressive depiction of the growing agitation of the poet. After coming together to cadence at measure 25, however, there is a tutti pause before all voices emphatically declaim: "¡Ay!". The homophonic block chords continue over the subsequent line. This marked emphasis is common in madrigalesque treatments of a vocal exclamation, and dramatically sets off the emotional climax of the poem.

Melodic lines are typically diatonic, and each phrase usually has a compass between a fifth to an octave, although the larger range seems to have been reserved for expressive purposes. Over the course of a complete setting, the compass of each vocal part tends to span at least the full modal octave, although the individual Altus line may be noticeably more restricted, and, at times, the upper parts may span up to an octave plus a fourth or fifth. In the works for four voices, melodic leaps of a fourth, fifth or, less commonly, sixth, are standard. Larger leaps of an octave are rare, and, like the wide compass within individual parts, seem to have been reserved for Some sort of rhetorical emphasis. The works for three voices are more constrained concerning melodic leaps; there is rarely an interval of more than a third within a musical phrase. The melodic lines of the Italianate settings are markedly different to those of the villancicos from the same period, which are typically much more constrained regarding compass and melodic leaps.[26]

Juan Bermudo and other contemporary Spanish music theorists adhered to the octonary modal system throughout the sixteenth century.[27] Bermudo suggested that there were four methods for verifying the mode of a work that, when strictly followed, would infallibly result in a correct assessment: one, identification of the final while also paying attention to the inner cadences which are distinctive for each mode; two, examination of the species that make up the scale and how they are phrased in the melody; three, identification of typical psalm-tone formulae or intervals, particularly in imitative passages; and four, how

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[26] Russell, ed., introduction, *Villancicos y canciones*, xi-xii.

[27] Spanish theorists could not have been unaware of Glarean's codification of the twelve-mode system; Bermudo cites Glarean, Tinctoris and Gaffurius, among others in his own treatise, *Declaración de los instrumentales musicales* (1555), translated by Gordon J. Kinney (Lexington, Kentucky: M. 1. King Library, University of Kentucky, 1977). See also Tomas de Santa María, *The art of playing the fantasia by Fray Tomás de Sancta María* (Valladolid, 1565); Francisco Tovar, *Libro de música práctica (1510)*, summarized in Samuel Rubio, *Classical Polyphony*, translated by Thomas Rive (Oxford: Basil Blackwell & Mott Ltd., 1972),35-61. A useful summary of both Bermudo and Santa María's modal theories, (as well as a discussion of their similarities and differences with contemporary Italian and German modal theories) is found in Miguel A. Roig-Francolí, "Modal paradigms in mid-sixteenth century Spanish instrumental composition: theory and practice in Antonio de Cabezón and Tomás de Santa María," *Journal of Music Theory* 38, no. 2 (Autumn, 1994): 249-291.

the species of the fourth and fifth are arranged within the modal octave.[28] In this study, modal assignation in the octonary system is achieved by following Bermudo's general guidelines. However, individual voice ranges are frequently too narrow or wide to conclude whether the setting is a plagal or authentic mode. In these cases, the primacy of the tenor voice is generally followed to determine the range, although special attention is paid to the upper voice, as well as inner cadences, since theorists were not in accordance as to which part should determine mode of a setting.[29]

Table 3.1 presents the system *(cantus durus* or *cantus mollis)*, final, total range, and modal assignation, while Table 3.2, immediately below it, is a summary of the first table. In the column for the final, two finals are given for longer works in two or more *partes;* and a slash followed by a second final in brackets represents the ending of the *mudanza* setting in the *villancicos*. Pitch designations for the final represent a full triad unless an octave or unison finish is indicated by an (o) or (u), respectively. For those settings with finals on D, E, F (with *cantus mollis)*, and G, modal assignation was quite easily achieved, although, as noted above, narrow individual voice ranges often inhibited clear plagal or authentic assignation.

Table 3.1. Mode in MadM 6829

No.	Incipit	System	Final	Mode	Ambitus
1	*Ojos claros y serenos*	♭	G	1	g-g"
2	*Sábete, linda zagala*	♭	G/(G)	1	C-g"

[28] Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de los instrumentales musicales* (1555), translated by Gordon J. Kinney (Lexington, Kentucky: M. I. King Library, University of Kentucky, 1977), 386-388.

[29] Aron declared, "the tenor being the firm and stable part, the part, that is, that holds and comprehends the whole concentus of the harmony, the singer must judge the tone by means of this part only," whilst the Spanish theorists preferred to determine mode by the treble voice. See Pietro Aaron, *Trattato della natura e cognizione di tutti gli tuoni di canto figurato (1525),* chapters 1-7, translated in *Source Readings in Music History,* revised edition, vol. 3, edited by Gary Tomlinson (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.), 415-428; Kinney, ed. and trans., *Declaración,* 486.

No.	Incipit	System	Final	Mode	Ambitus
3	*Lágrimas de mi consuelo*		E	4	A-c'
4	*Por ese mar d'Helesponto*	♭	G	1	G-d'
5	*Claros y frescos ríos*		D	1	d-c'
6	*[No text]*		C/(E)	6	C-c'
7	*Puse mis amores*		A/(A)	1	A-e"
8	*A beinte y siete de março*	♭	D	1	D-d"
9	*Di, perra mora*		(A)/D	1	D-d"
10	*¿Qué se hizo, Juan, tu placer?*		A/(A)	1	g-g"
11	*Llaman a Teresica*		G	8	G-d"
12	*O dulçe suspiro mío,*	♭	G	1	d-eb"
13	*Amargas oras de los dulces días*		E	3	G-e"
14	*Fresco y claro arroyuelo*	♭	F (o)	5	C-d"
15	*Hermosa Catalina,*		A	1	a-g"
16	*Ten cuenta, amor*	♭	D (o)	1	b-d"
17	*Y dize a tu pesar*	♭	G	1	g-g"
18	*Amor andava triste*		A (o)	3	e-e"
19	*Carillo, si tú quisieres*		A	3	g-g"
20	*Gasajoso está Carillo*		A	3	f-g"
21	*Amor çiego y atrevido*	♭	F	5	f-f"
22	*Clemente jura va a tal*	♭	G	1	g-g"
23	*¿ Viste, Gil, a mi zagala?*		A	3	C-f"
24	*Llorad conmigo, pastores*	♭	G	1	g-g"
25	*Cavallero, si a Francia ides*	♭	A		C-d"
26	*Buelve tus claros ojos*	♭	F/(D)	5	f-g"
27	*Como por alto mar tenpestuoso*	♭	F	5	f-g"
28	*¿Haste casado, Anilla?*	♭	G (o)	1	g-g"
29	*Tu dulçe canto, Silvia,*		A	1	d-d"
30	*Ojos que ya no véis*		D	1	d-d"
31	*Aquí me declaró su pensamiento*		D	1	B-f"
32	*Pues que no puedo olvidarte*	♭	D/(A)	1	d-d"
33	*Navego en hondo mar*		A		C-g"

No.	Incipit	System	Final	Mode	Ambitus
34	*Ninpha gentil*	b	D,D	1	F-d"
35	*¡Ay de mí, sin ventura!*	b	F	5	f-f"
36	*Acaba ya, zagala*	b	G	1	f-g"
37	*Ojos hermosos, amorosillos, graves,*		A	1	C-e"
38	*Para misa nueva*	b	G	1	G-g'
39	*Aquella boz de Cristo*	b	G	2	B-d'
40	*Aquella fuerça grande*	b	G	1	G-d"
41	*A su alvedrío*		C (o)	8	C-c'
42	*Pues que me tienes, Miguel*		A/(D)	1	d-g"
43	*Por do començaré mi triste llanto*	b	A		B-d"
44	*Prado verde y florido*	b	F	5	f-f"
45	*Sobre una peña do la mar batía*		A,A	3	C-g"
46	*O más dura que marmol a mis quexas*		E	3	A-e"
47	*En el campo me metí*	b	A/(e)	5	f-f"
48	*¡Quién me dixera, Elisa, vida mía,*		A	3	A-g"
49	*Rosales, mirtos, plátanos y flores,*		A	3	
50	*Siendo míos, dí, pastora*	b	A/(A)	1	f-f"
51	*Corten espadas afiladas*	b	F	5	F-c'
52	*Llamo a la muerte*	b	G (o)	1	g-d'
53	*Duldssima María*	b	G	1	g-g"
54	*Descuidado de cuidado*	b	A/(F)	1	d-g"
55	*¡Ay soledad amarga!*		C	8	A-e"
56	*¿A quién no matará sólo un olvido?*	b	F	6	F-d"
57	*Tú me robaste*	b	D (o)	1	f-d"
58	*Alégrate, Isabel*	b	G (o)	1	g-g"
59	*Tu dorado cabello*		b	G (o)	1
60	*Beatriz, ¿cómo es posible?*	b	F	5	f-f"
61	*La rubia pastorçica*	b	F	5	f-g"
62	*Esos tus claros ojos*	b	F	5	E-f"
63	*Rosales, mirtos, plátanos y flores,*		A	3	
64	*Socórreme, pastora,*		A	2	C-g"

No.	Incipit	System	Final	Mode	Ambitus
65	*Dí, Gil, ¿qué siente Juan*	♭	F/(F)	5	F-f"
66	*Requerde el alma dormida (no music)*		-	-	-
67	*Cristalía, una pastora enamorada*		C,C,C,C	8	C-g"
68	*Estávase Marfida*	♭	F	5	f-d"
69	*Quan bienaventurado*		A	2	d-f"
70	*Huyd, huyd, o çiegos amadores,*	♭	D	1	G-d"
71	*Marfira, por vos muero*	♭	D	1	d-d"
72	*Intolerable rayo*		E	3	A-e"
73	*Juana, yo juro a fe*	♭	F	5	f-f"
74	*Duro mál, terrible llanto*	♭	G	1	g-f"
75	*Dime, manso viento,*	♭	G	2	C-d"
76	*No ves, amor, que esta gentil moçuela*	♭	G	1	g-g"
77	*Los ojos puestos en el alto cielo*		G (o)	7	g-g"
78	*¡Luisa de mi alma!*	♭	F	5	f-d"
79	*Dexó la venda, el arco y el aljava*	♭	F	5	f-f"
80	*¿A qué vienes, tirano?*	♭	F	5	f-f"
81	*Olvidaste, zagala, aqueste apero*	♭	G	1	g-g"
82	*Carillo, ¿quiéresme bien?*	♭	G/(G)	1	g-g"
83	*Pasando el mar Leandro el animoso*		A		C-f"
84	*Leonor, enferma esta vas y llorosa*	♭	F (o)	5	eb-d"
85	*Catalina sin par*	♭	G (o)	1	f-d"
86	*Parlera sois así, señora Juana*	♭	F,F	5	f-g"
87	*Hermosa pastorçilla*	♭	G	1	g-g"
88	*Frescura soberana*	♭	G,G	1	g-g"
89	*¡Ay de mí, sin ventura!*			8	
90	*Divina ninpha mía*	♭	G	1	g-g"
91	*¿Dónde se sufre, Juana*		C/(C)	8	g-g"
92	*Esclarecida Juana*	♭	G	1	f-g"
93	*Ribera el sacro Darro*		A,A	1	d-g"
94	*Manso viento que con dulçe rruído*	♭	G	1	g-g"
95	*El fresco y manso viento*	♭	G	1	g-g"

No.	Incipit	System	Final	Mode	Ambitus
96	*Ilustre silva fértil y abundante*	♭	G	1	g-g"
97	*El fresco ayre del favor humano*	♭	D	1	G-d"
98	*¡Ay Jesús, qué mal fraile*	♭	F	5	f-f"
99	*Hermosa Magdalena*	♭	G	1	g-g"
100	*Siendo de amor Susana requerida*				
101	*Hermosa Catalina,*	♭	G	1	C-d"

Table 3.2. Summary of mode in MadM 6829 settings

Protus pair total: 54

Mode 1: 50	Mode 2: 4
D: 4	A: 2
D/♭: 8	G/♭: 2
A: 7	
A/♭: 2	
G/♭: 29	

Deuterus pair total: 13

Mode 3: 11	Mode 4: 1
A: 8	E: 1
E: 3	

Tritus pair total: 22

Mode 5: 20	Mode 6: 2
F/♭: 19	F/♭: 1
A/♭: 1	C: 1

Tetrardus pair total: 7

The most obvious quality of the tonal features of the settings in MadM 6829 is the strong preference for the protus modes, followed by tritus. The result of this preference is a

harmonic structure akin to modern major and minor scale patterns, and is a distinctive tonal character of the settings.[30]

Bermudo counseled that the conscientious composer should always try to match his text with music that fits:

> ... [E]verything said in the text that can be imitated in music, one should imitate in the composition. When setting "Clamavit Jesu voce magna" one should compose a rising line where it says "voce magna"; for "Martha vocavit mariam sororem suam silentio" the music should soften where it says "silentio," so that it can scarcely be heard. If the text says "Descendit ad infernos," make the music descend; where it says "ascendit ad celum," make the music rise. Moreover, one must put a B-flat where there is a sad word. Wherever there is an idea that commands attention, such notes should be put down so that, in everything and for everything, they are very much in agreement with the text.[31]

Bermudo's statement on the primacy of text in determining compositional procedure suggests several ways in which composers could have considered text in their musical settings. His first two suggestions concern the mimesis of sound: a "loud voice" or "secret calling" would be best depicted through dynamics and melody. Bermudo advised that kinetic actions of the text - ascent and descent - should be copied in melodic movement. He also noted that emotional states such as sadness should be set to music with similar affective power. Bermudo's final suggestion alludes to something more powerful than word painting. By suggesting that music had the power to "tell the same story" as a teaching in a text, he was, by implication, asserting music's role as a vehicle suitable for rhetorical declamation.[32] The majority of the neo-Petrarchan settings in MadM 6829 each contain between one and three instances of word painting that correspond to Bermudo's suggestions for musical

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[30] Robert Stevenson commented in 1961 that many Spanish polyphonic song settings "are ... susceptible of classification as major or minor in the tonal sense," Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music*, 220.

[31] Juan Bermudo, *Declaración*, fol. 125, translation taken from Todd Borgerding, "The Motet and Spanish Religiosity ca. 1550-1610" (PhD diss., University ofMichigan, 1997), 2.

[32] Music as a rhetorical tool, along with the complications and considerations of applying this type of analysis to secular, vernacular song rather than the Latin examples that Bermudo provides, is discussed in Chapter Four. The interpretation of Bermudo as an advocate for the rhetorical power of music was first suggested by Borgerding, "The Motet," 2.

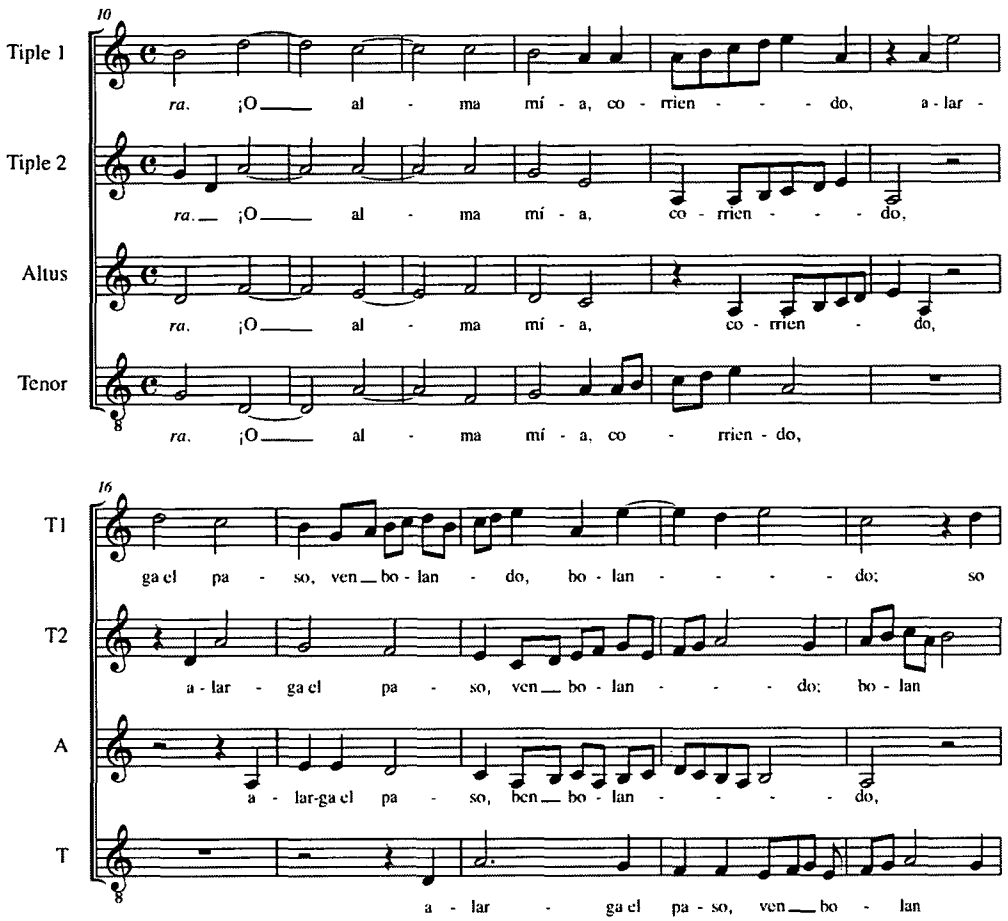
expressivity. Of course in practice, descriptions of sound, kinetic actions, and states of being frequently overlapped in the poetic repertory. Even so, it is useful to divide the following discussion roughly according to the type of musical mimesis: kinetic, emotional or physical states of being; and sonorous (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Number of Italianate settings in MadM 6829 to use musical word-painting

Textual theme	Number of settings to musically depict the theme
Kinetic	15
Emotional or physical state of being	19
Sonorous	5
Visual imagery	3

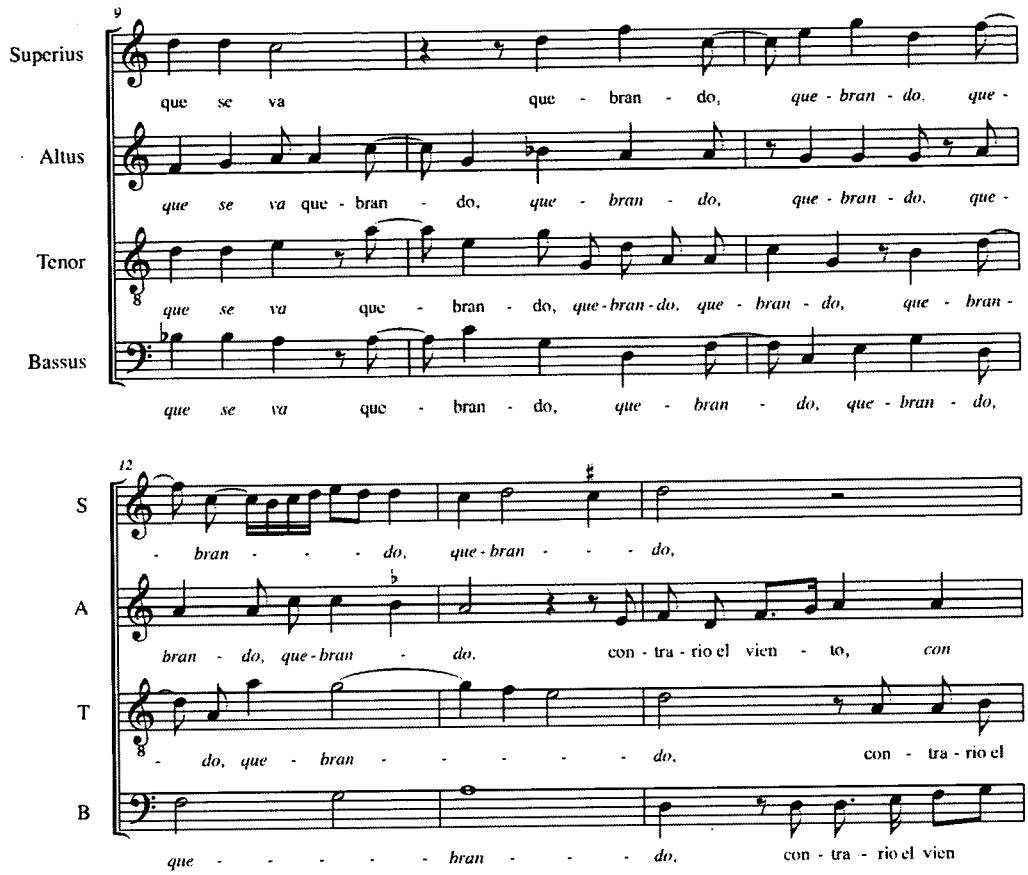
An examination of the text-setting techniques in MadM 6829 shows that musical mimesis of kinetic movement is one of the most common word-painting artifices in the repertory. Within this type of musical allegory, rhythmic manipulations are the most frequently employed. In *Socórreme, pastora* (CM, no. 64), there are ascending quaver passages at the words "corriendo" ("running") and "bolando" ("flying") (Figure 3.5). Sudden rapid movements are in stark contrast with the slow rhythmic movement of the rest of the work, one passage of which can be seen in the musical example, over the words "¡O alma mía" (measures 10-13).

Figure 3.5. Cebrián, *Socórreme, pastora,* mm. 10-20



In *Navego en hondo mar* (CM, no. 33), the word "quebrando" ("bending") warrants dramatic cross-rhythms, resulting in a musical texture with no single metrical emphasis (Figure 3.6). Additionally, the three note motif has a clear knee-shaped bend in it, with a rising third and falling fourth in all parts (measures 9-12). Both manipulations quite literally depict the movement of the "bending" described in text.

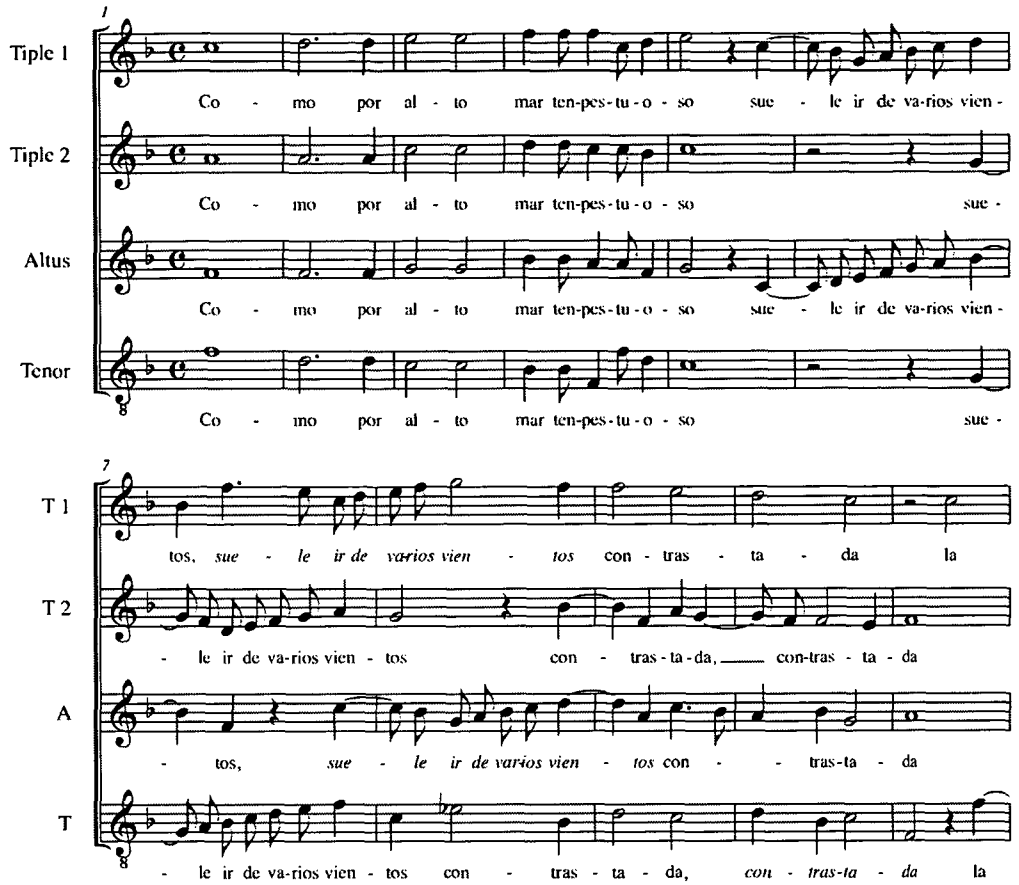
Figure 3.6. Bernal Gonçales, *Navego en hondo mar,* mm. 9-14



Additionally, the effect of the word painting is more than sonic: the visual effect of the cross-rhythms scrawled across the page pictorialize "quebrando."

Rhythmic irregularities frequently represent the movement of wind and water. In *Como por alto mar tenpestuoso* (CM, no. 27), the vivid movement of the "mar tenpestuoso" ("tempestuous sea") is given musical allegory with syncopation between the vocal parts (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7. Ginés de Morata, *Como por alto mar,* mm. 1-11

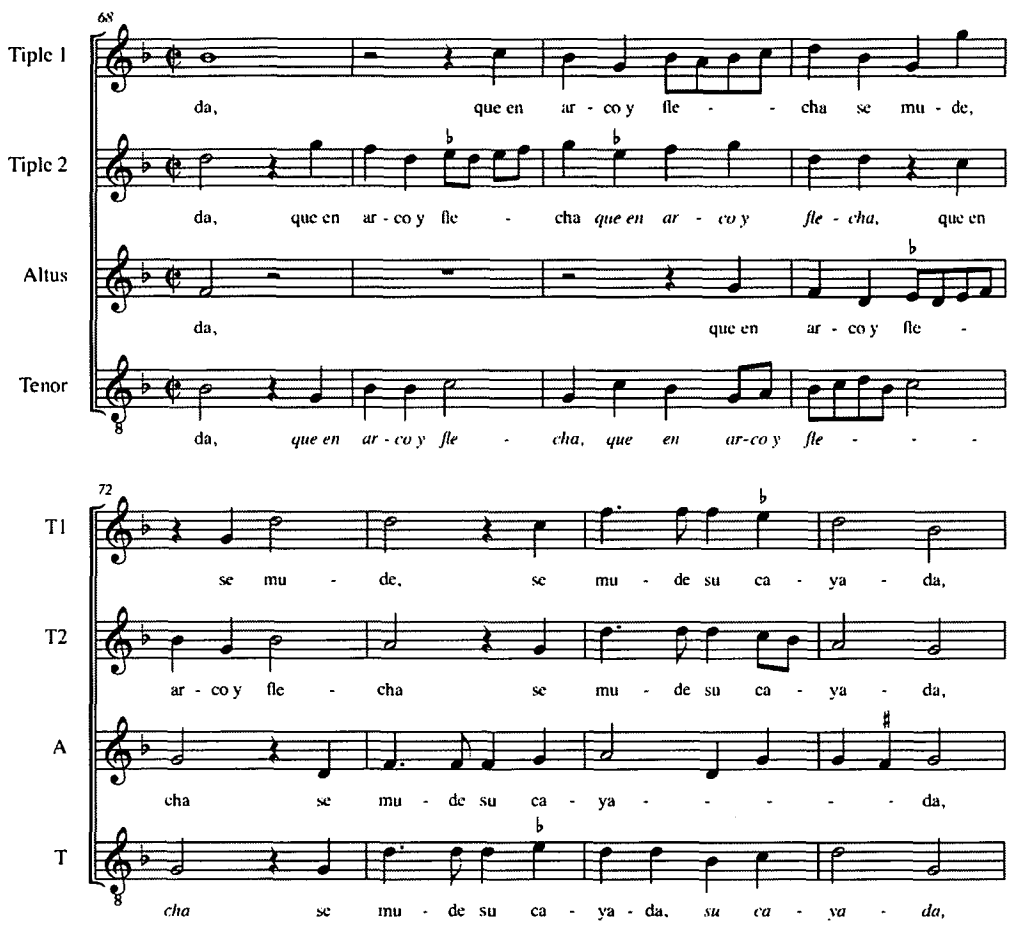


In the same example, the subsequent line "suele ir de varios vientos" ("it moves by various winds") is set to contrasting quaver movement. The musical metaphor for the wind's movement is enhanced by the imitative entry of the Tiple 2 and Altus parts, pictorializing the image of the different winds as they "swirl." Additionally, the phrase is set to an ascending melodic line, to mimic the upwards blowing movement of the wind. Similar rhythmic and melodic manipulations of sea and wind themes are also to be found in *Beatriz, cómo es posible* (CM, no. 60), *Hermosa pastorçilla* (CM, no. 87), *Sobre una peña do la mar batía* (CM, no. 45), and *Fresco y claro arroyuelo* (CM, no. 14).

Melodic shape is frequently manipulated to pictorialize a kinetic action of the text less frequently than rhythm. In *El fresco y manso viento* (CM, no. 95), the flight of an arrow is

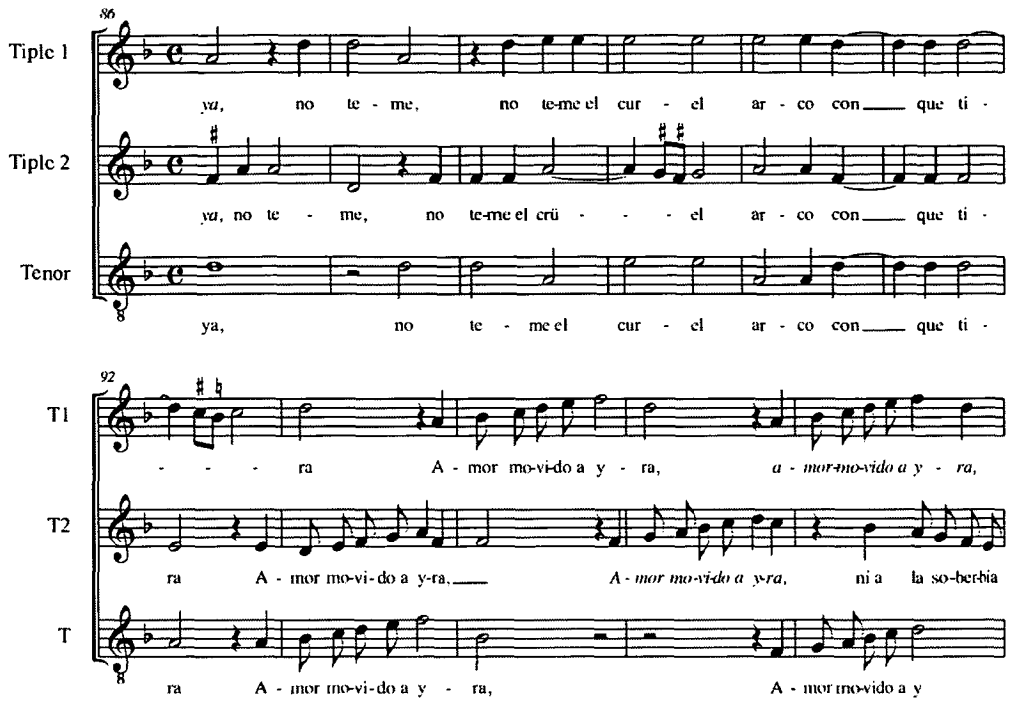
seen to be pictorialized by an arching melodic line at "que en arco y flecha se mude" ("with bow and arrow she changes") (Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8. Anonymous, *El fresco y manso viento,* mm. 68-75



Additionally, the abrupt quaver movement captures the speed of the flying arrow. Similar melodic treatment of the flight of an arrow is also found in Y *dize a tu pesar* (CM, no. 17) and *¿No ves, amor* (CM, no. 76). In fact, of the four texts in MadM 6829 to contain mention of a bow and arrow, only one does not use the shape of the melody to pictorialize the flight of the arrow. This may be a difference that can be attributed to the preferences or skills of individual composers. Nevertheless, a close look at the rogue setting, *Frescura soberana* (CM, no. 88), reveals a different possibility (Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.9. Anonymous, *Frescura soberana*, mm. 86-96



In the setting of "el crüel arco con que tira" ("the cruel bow with which she shoots"), the forward movement of the music dramatically, almost insistently, halts over the words; the rhythmic pulse slows to a minim beat, and all three vocal parts remain static on one pitch (measures 86-92). The stasis is a dramatic contrast to the movement of the subsequent line, "Amor movido a yra" ("Cupid moved with anger"), in which all vocal parts are set to an imitative, rapidly ascending melody (mm. 93-96). In this case, it is likely that the anonymous composer prioritized musical expression of Cupid's angry movement over the pictorialization of the flight of the arrow, and slowed the movement of the first line to accentuate the second.

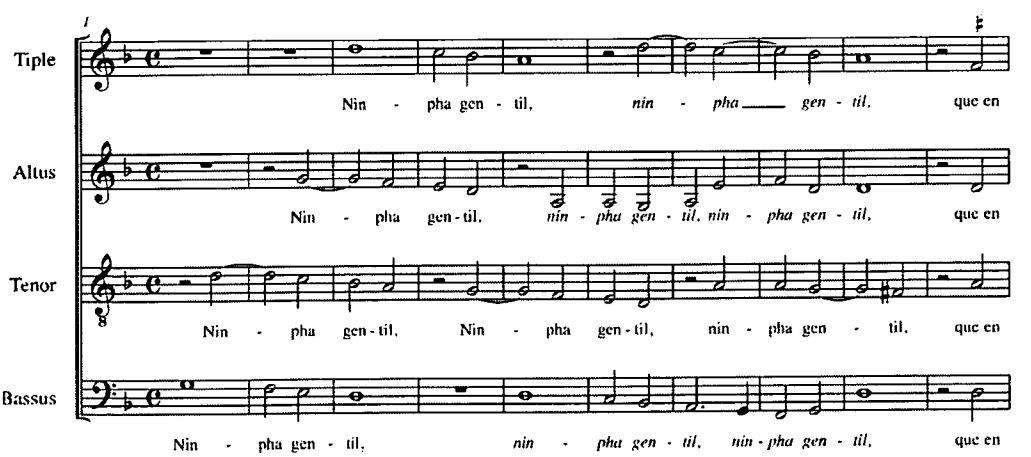
Melodic shape and musical movement, too, may pictorialize kinetic movements. In *Esclareçida Juana* (CM, no. 92), three of the four voices are set to a large ascending leap over the line "a levantar los ojos" ("to raise [his] eyes and look at you"), spanning an octave over only one phrase. The literal musical treatment of "ascent" or "descent" was actually

one of the most common musical mimeses of kinetic movements in both Italian and Spanish madrigals, and was even explicitly outlined by Bermudo as a way to enhance the declamation of the text.

It is noteworthy that, where musical mimicry of text have been identified in this study, they usually achieve their expressive effect through a combination of visual and aural compositional manipulations. Instances where the effect is exclusively visual, for the performer's benefit only with no aural effect for the listener, are rare. Of the six works in MadM 6829 on the central theme of the eyes, only three use the standard Italian madrigalism of setting each statement of "ojos" ("eyes") to breves, to create the appearance of a pair of eyes for the sole enjoyment of the performer *(Ojos claros y serenos, Siendo míos, dí, pastora, Esclareçida Juana)*. The other three show no sign of an attempt at the visual pun *(Intolerable rayo, Esos tus claros ojos, Ojos hermosos)*.

In MadM 6829, the attributes of poetic subjects may sometimes be given vivid musical description. In *Ninpha gentíl* (CM, no. 34), the texture was reduced and rhythmic movement slowed over the opening address to the poet's beloved ("gentle nymph") (Figure 3.10).

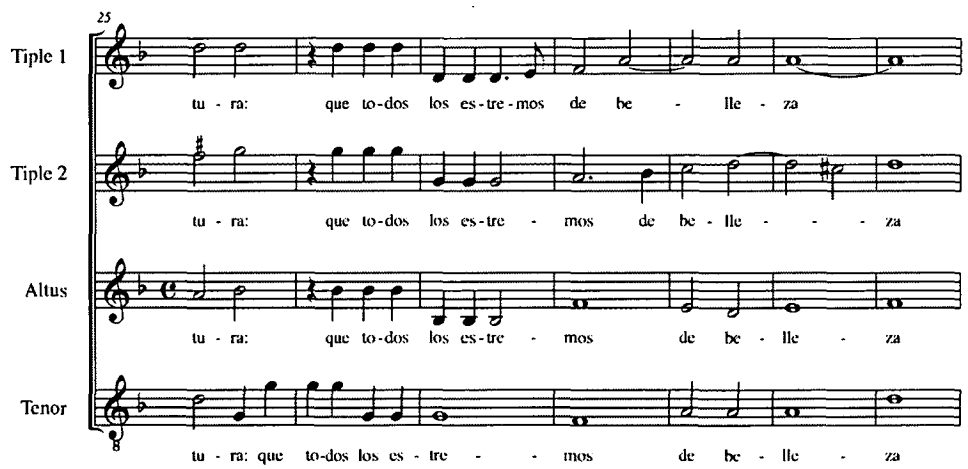
Figure 3.10. Ginés de Morata, *Ninpha gentil,* mm.1-10



In the close imitative opening motif, the composer carefully avoided any dissonance in the passage, with the voices mainly at intervals of a sweet sounding consonant major sixth, perhaps in a reference to fauxbordon figures of sacred settings. The simple movement between all voices in a descending, stepwise motif, the sweet, consonant harmonies, and slow pulse literally depict the nature of the gentle nymph. Later in the work, at the description of the "simplicity" of the nymph, the musical phrase is similar.

Variations in the vocal compass between the outer parts may have been a way to represent a dramatic contrasts in the text. For example, in *Esclarecida Juana* (CM, no. 92) at the line "que todos los estremos de belleza" ("all the extremes of beauty") , the Tenor begins with a dramatic descending leap of an octave (Figure 3.11).

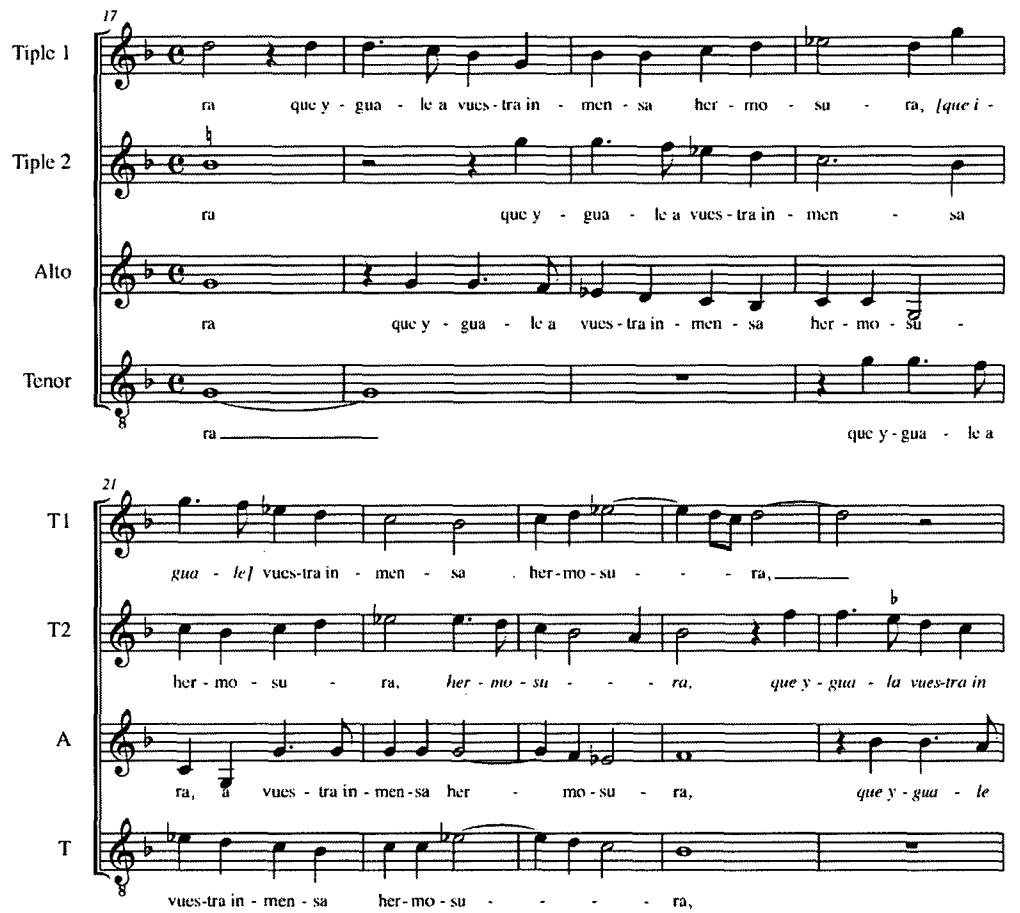
Figure 3.11. Francisco Guerrero, *Esclareçida Juana*, mm. 25-31



The two Tiple and Altus parts enter at points of imitation only two crotchet beats later with the same dramatic melodic leap. Such a wide interval within an individual motif was extremely unusual in the repertory, and represented the "extreme" beauty described in the text. The musical phrase appears particularly expressive in other ways, too, with the slowing of the metric pulse and a suspension of "belleza", perhaps suggestive of the woman's

sensuality. Similarly, in *Dulcíssima María* (CM, no. 53), the total range between the voices was dramatically extended over the line "que yguale a vuestra inmensa hermosura" ("that equals your immense beauty") (Figure 3.12).

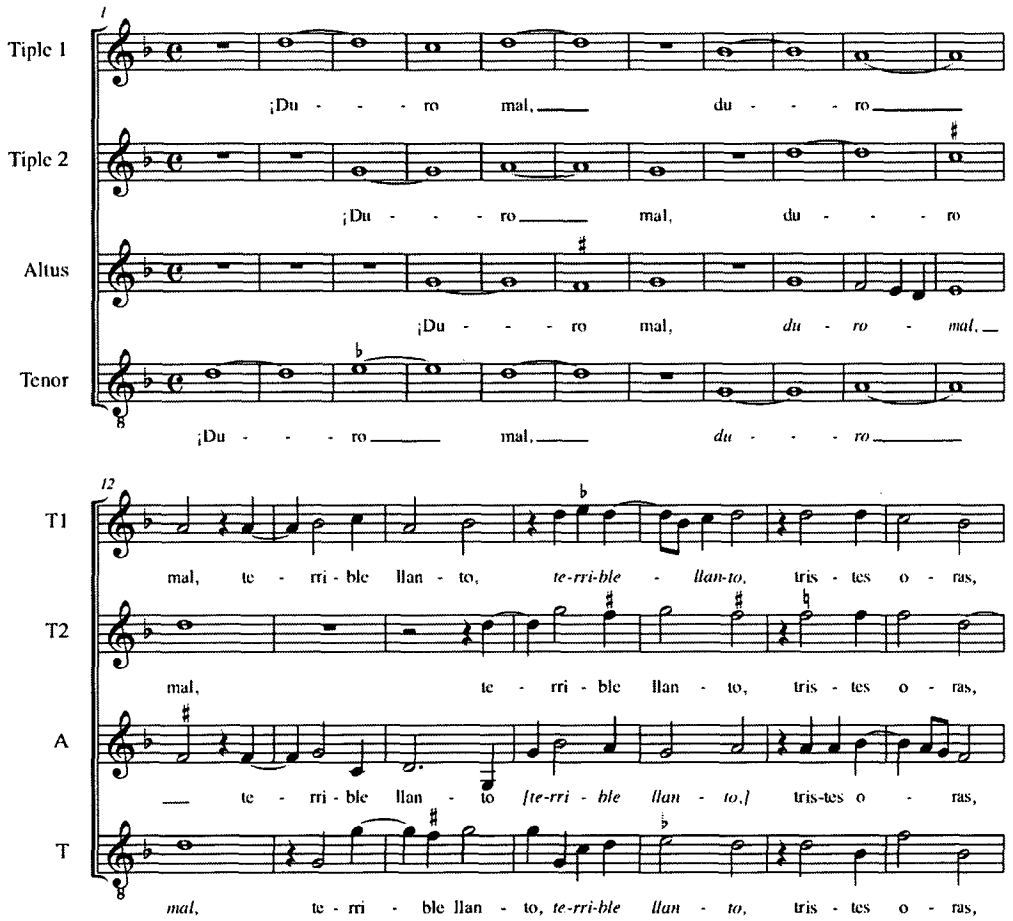
Figure 3.12. Anonymous, *Dulcíssima María,* mm. 17-25



The total compass between the outer parts is two full octaves, with all parts reaching the extremities of their respective range, dramatically depicting the immensity of Maria's beauty. The melody dramatically descends a full octave in the Alto part, while others rise and fall.

Although dissonance and cross relations are rare in the repertory, they are sometimes used to depict a state of suffering, pain, or wildness. A dramatic and dissonant setting opens *Duro mal* (CM, no. 74) (Figure 3.13).[33]

Figure 3.13. Rodrigo de Ceballos, *Duro mal, terrible llanto,* mm. 1-18



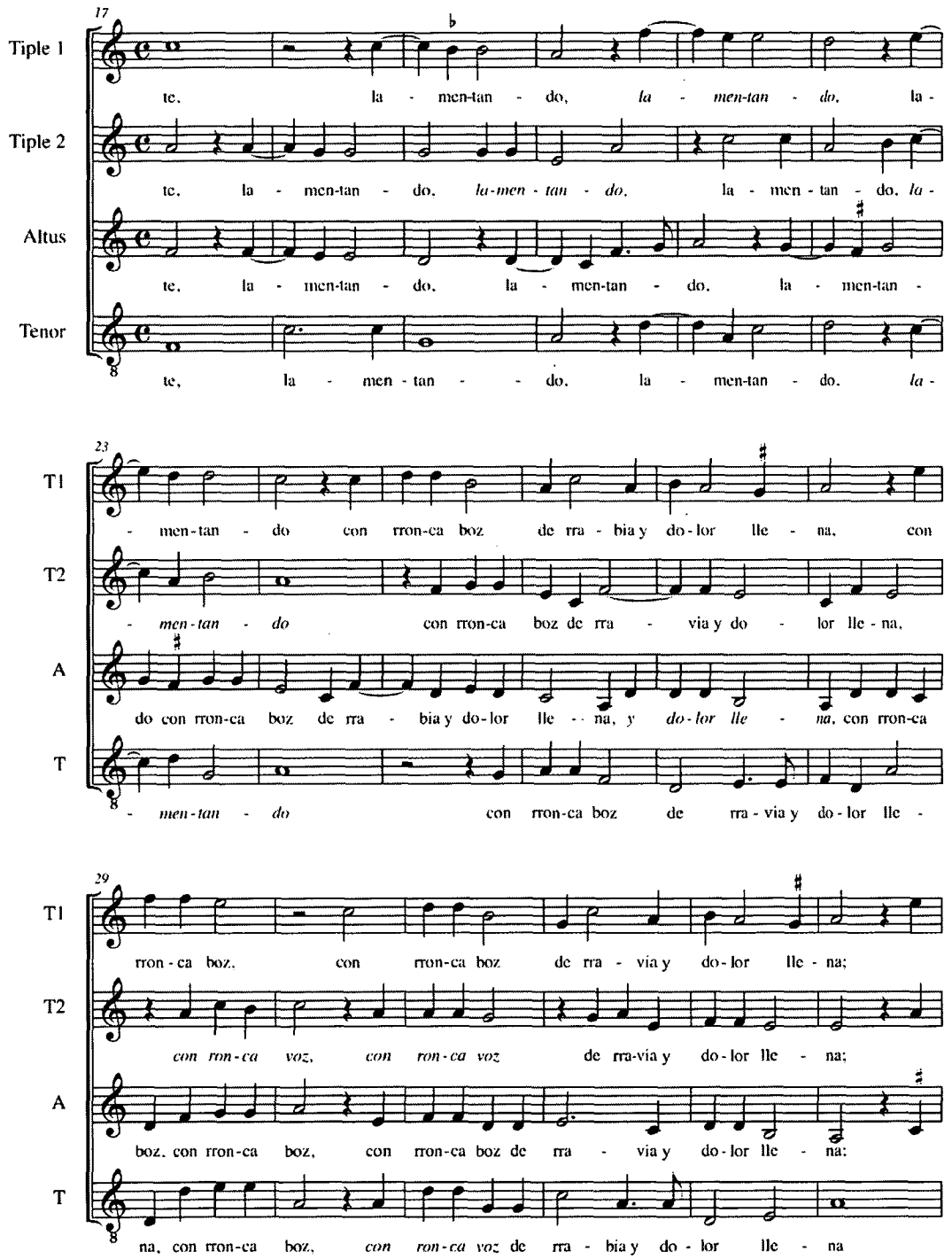
The suspensions between the parts are at intervals of a major seventh between the Tenor and Tiple 1 in the third measure, and a second between the two middle parts at the fourth. Such harmony literally paints the meaning of the text, "Duro mal, terrible llanto" ("Hard pains, terrible tears"). A cross-relation is found at the next line, between measures 16 and 17, as the

[33] Examples of dissonance in *Duro mal* rely on the suggested editorial musica ficta. This author compared the version with the intabulation provided by Daza in *El Parnaso,* and found an identical setting, suggesting that, in this case, the musica ficta is probably correct.

poet continues to lament the passing of "tristes oras" ("sad hours"). Similarly, instances of dramatic dissonance occur at mention of pain, both physical or emotional. The intensity of *Ribera el sacro Darro* (CM, no. 93) builds at the end of the first quatrain: "lamentando / con ronca boz de rrabia y dolor llena" ("lamenting with a broken voice full of pain"). Until this point, the musical setting has maintained steady forward motion, when a dramatic tritone dissonance was set over the word "dolor" ("pain") at the beginning of measure 33 (Figure 3.14).[34]

[34] Although this study has taken the *musica ficta* suggested by Querol in the original monograph to be correct, it is entirely possible that some may have been omitted in measures 27 and 33. This, of course, would render the tritone obsolete.

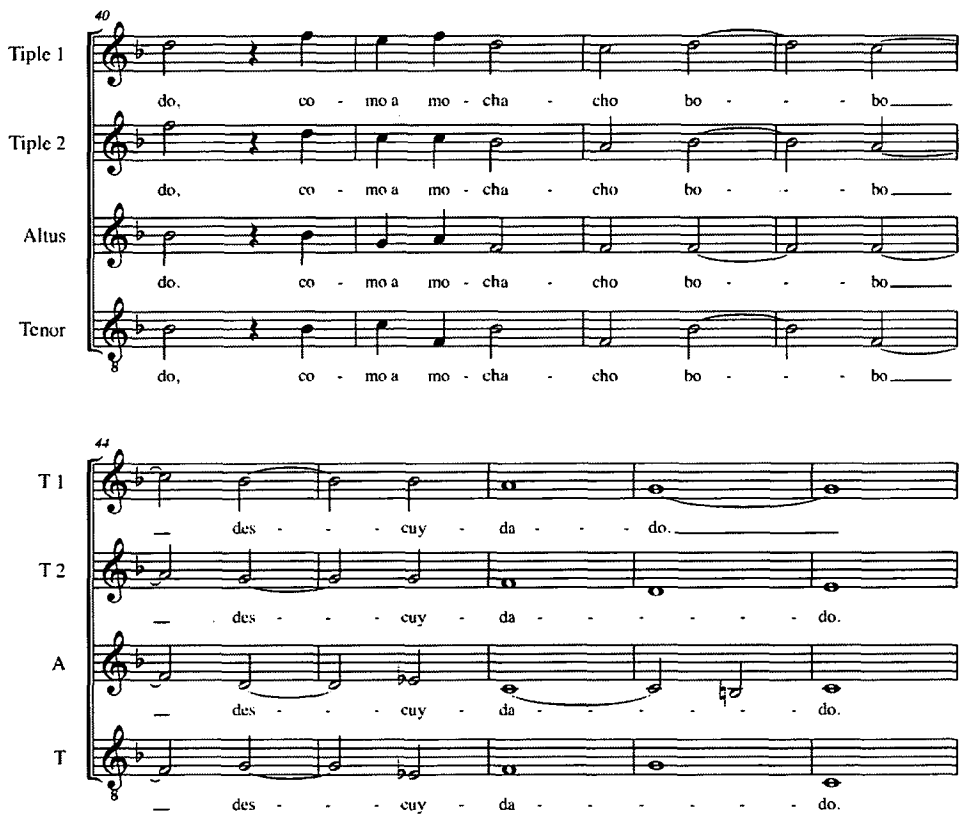
Figure 3.14. Anonymous, *Ribera el sacro Darro,* mm. 17-34



A similar instance of dissonance is found in *Huyd, huyd* (CM, no. 70). In *Ten cuenta* (CM, no. 16), a tritone is set over the words "cruda fiera" ("wild beast"). Such musical expression of the untamed nature of the beast is immediately perceptible to the ear.

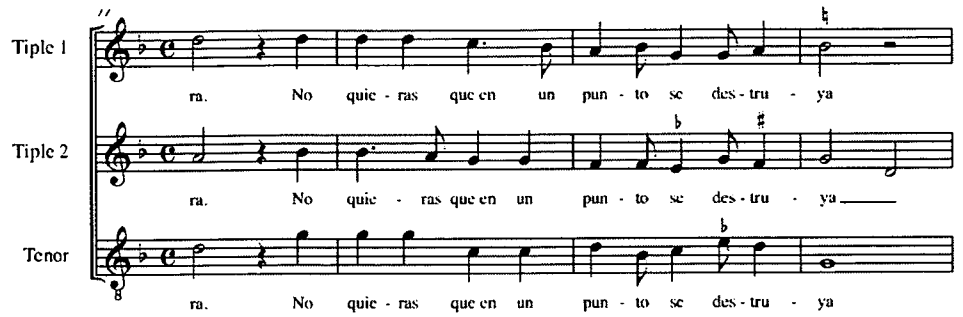
Dramatic states of madness or themes of destruction are commonly represented by disruptive rhythmic manipulations. In *Dexó la venda* (CM, no. 79), the metric pulse is disrupted by syncopation over the words "como a mochacho bobo y descuidado" ("like a stupid and careless lad") (Figure 3.15).

Figure 3.15. Francisco Guerrero, *Dexó la venda,* mm. 40-48



Such rhythmic displacement aurally mirrors the confused state of the boy. A more dramatic metric displacement is found in *Frescura soberana* (CM, no. 88), in which until the line "un punto se destruya" ("a point one destroys") all three voices sound in syllabic uniformity. At that point, the motif breaks into a disjointed dance rhythm of 3+3+2 quavers, literally destroying the steady drive of musical movement (Figure 3.16).

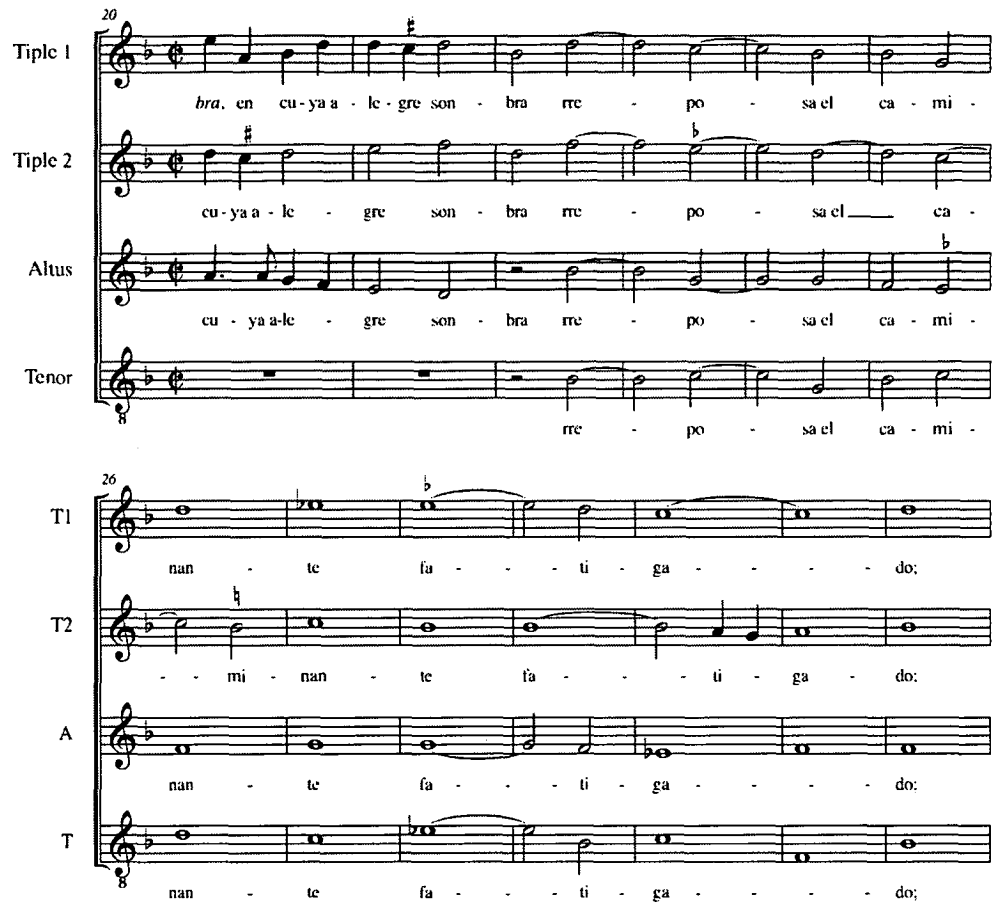
Figure 3.16. Anonymous, *Frescura soberana,* mm. 77-80



Similarly, in *Como por alto mar* (CM, no. 27) and *Socórreme, pastora* (CM, no. 64) the rhythmic pulse is disrupted at the words "contrastada" ("contrasting") and "locura grande ("great madness"), respectively.

A state of fatigue or stasis may be matched with a dramatic slowing of metric pulse. In the musical setting of *Y lustre silva* (CM, no. 96), as the poet describes his physical exhaustion and inability to carry on, rhythmic movement slows almost to a halt (Figure 3.17).

Figure 3.17. Anonymous, *Y llustre silva,* mm. 20-32



The dramatic effect of the slowing pulse is enhanced by a lengthy tutti rest following the declamation of "fatigado," quite literally depicting the sensation of fatigue. Additionally, the descending melodic phrase probably represents the physical and/or mental "drooping" effect of fatigue. *Por do comencaré* (CM, no. 43) and *Prado verde y florido* (CM, no. 44) set the subject of fatigue in a similar fashion. In *Fresco arroyuelo* (CM, no. 14), too, the word "detente" ("stop") is surrounded by general pauses and held for a full six crotchet beats, longer than any other note in the work. *Hermosa Magdalena* (CM, no. 99) is the only work in the manuscript to contradict the consistency of representation of fatigue or slowness with metric augmentation. Over the words "Ay, vida triste y larga" ("Oh, long and sad life"), instead of the more typical correspondence between the dreary nature of the poet and

slowing of pulse, the text is set to a short quaver movement. It is perplexing why the opportunity for compositional expression was overlooked in this case, since there are no other obvious themes or aspects of text except this point that the anonymous composer may have prioritized.

Although musical expression of emotion is notoriously difficult to identify, we have already noted some musical mimeses of emotional states, as well as the limited usage of expressive modal variation, expressive dissonances, and cross-relations compared to contemporary Italian works. Further rhetorical devices are easy to identify: fast-moving quaver passages were quite often employed to represent feelings of fear, discomfort or anger *(Hermosa Catalina; Navego en hondo mar; Leonor, enferma estavas; La rubia pastorçica* and *Aquí me declaró);* slow-moving chordal writing typically accompanied attributes of calmness *(Amor andava triste; Ninpha gentíl)*. Dramatic slowing or quickening of rhythmic values typically symbolized sadness, too, and its antithesis, happiness *(Hermosa Catalina* and *Socórreme, pastora)*.

The musical mimicry of sounds described in the poetry were important musical artifices in other fifteenth- and sixteenth century repertories, particularly the Parisian chanson.[35] However, such techniques are scarcely found in the MadM 6829 repertory. Notwithstanding, there were some noises, particularly vocal, that were accorded musical artifices. Noises of breathing, whispering and sighing were the most frequently mimicked sounds. In *Prado verde y florido* (CM, no. 44), the poet speaks directly to the natural landscape around him, beseeching the flowers, trees and streams to soften his shepherdess's feelings towards him. At the fourth line he suggests that they whisper their sweet words to his shepherdess in order to soften her feelings towards him ("contaldas blandamente a mi

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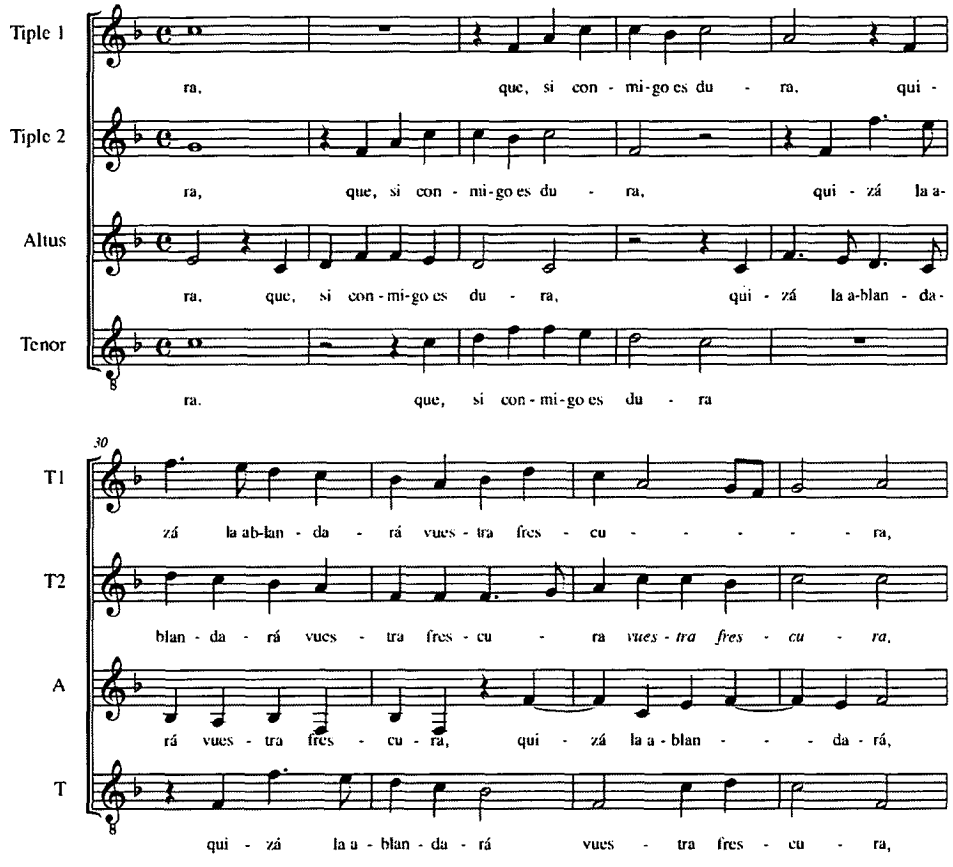
[35] Leeman Perkins, "Towards a Theory of Text-Music Relations in the Fifteenth- and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Binchois Studies*, ed. Andrew Kirkman and Dennis Slavin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 313-330.

pastora"). Immediately, the musical setting breaks from the previously chordal, homophonic texture into closely spaced, paired imitative entries (Figure 3.18).

Figure 3.18. Francisco Guerrero, *Prado verde y florido,* mm. 25-33



The vocal interplay mimics the muted, rustling sound of whispering between the trees, streams, and other natural objects, and probably represents the similar sound of wind. Similarly, in *Esos tus claros ojos* (CM, no. 62), local repetition of the word "suspira" ("he sighs") was combined with increasingly slower rhythmic values in each declamation, depicting the sound of the poet as he sighs.

Musical interpretations of other vocal noises, such as the sounds of talking and laughing are occasionally featured in the MadM 6829 settings. *¡Luisa de mi alma!* (CM, no. 78) is a setting of a poem which was written as a dialogue between a scorned lover and his

beloved. The dialogue is musically depicted by a call-and-response passage, alternating solo and group declamation. In the same work, the melodic motif over the line "¡Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi!" ("Ha, ha ... !") is set to an ascending stepwise pattern, corresponding to the shrieking sound of a woman's laughter. In another musical imitation of the human voice, the archetypal motif of wailing is given special treatment in *Ribera el sacro Darro* (CM, no. 93), in which the single word "lamentando" ("lamenting") warrants a descending three note motif, repeated several times in all voices with overlapping entries. The overall effect is akin to the actual sound of weeping, where the vocal inflection repeatedly descends.

The composers of works in MadM 6829 held a variety of expressive effects in their compositional toolboxes; a number of ways in which themes of the poetry were given musical metaphor have been identified in this chapter. Of the 72 Italianate settings, 15 contain at least one, and often two, musical imitations of textual reference to movement, and 19 contain musical imitations of the general attributes of poetic subject. The composers used melodic, rhythmic, and textural manipulations to represent kinetic movement and states of being. The madrigalism commonly referred to as "eye music," and which is specifically designed for the benefit of the performer, is only found in three settings, or half of those poems in which it may have been appropriate. Musical mimesis of emotion was undeniably a compositional concern, although it did not initiate the dramatic harmonic clashes that characterized madrigal repertories abroad. While the sounds evoked from textual images must have been considered, they were not always mimicked directly in the musical setting.

The specific musical figures that symbolized aspects of text were not unique to MadM 6829; similar techniques were used in the broader Spanish repertory of neo-Petrarchan settings, as well as in contemporaneous Spanish, French, and Italian secular cultured song repertories. The commonality of devices of musical artifice suggests that Spanish composers were indeed involved in, or at least aware of, similar movements in

other Western European musical traditions. The prominent role of rhythmic manipulation (above all other musical elements) as a musical artifice stands out as a notable feature of the repertory, as does the notable lack of harmonic and chromatic experimentation. The importance of musical symbolism in allowing the neo-Petrarchan settings to function as an expressive compositional vehicle should be considered a key feature of the repertory. Italianate poetry, with its novel use of imagery and poetic language and departure from traditional verse types, may have functioned as a new and exciting opportunity for expression.

Chapter 4

Formal Coordinations Between Music and Text: Beyond Artifice

In 1555 Juan Bermudo wrote: "If the text teaches something surprising, then also [the composer] should find a way to make the notes tell the same story."[1] Bermudo was specifically referring to the musical representation of text on a level that went beyond straightforward word-painting; he was asking for the composer to "teach" the idea of the text through the music. This idea of music as a rhetorical tool was echoed in Francisco de Montanos' musical treatise almost forty years later: "The most essential skill of a good composer is to do what the text asks: happy or sad, grave or light-hearted, complex or simple, humble or elevated. So that the music causes the effect the text asks to be raised in the souls of the listeners."[2] Montanos' dictum is clear: his advice to a skilled composer was to use musical settings as a rhetorical device to illustrate whatever the text might describe.

On the role of the sixteenth century Spanish motet, Borgerding has explained that Spanish composers used the motet as a vehicle for the dissemination of religious doctrine.[3] He described the ways in which the motet functioned as an expressive vehicle for church composers, and that they had at their discretion an array of rhetorically informed musical procedures:

> During the sixteenth century a distinctly Spanish rhetoric developed to meet the exigencies of the emerging Spanish religious state. It was a tradition that placed a premium on orthodox arguments, concise speech, and expressive pronunciation. Seen in this light, the avant garde ideas of Bermudo and [Italian music theorist Nicola] Vicentino, and their application in motets by Spanish composers, were part of a larger intellectual project, where classical rhetoric was wed to the political and religious ends

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[1] Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de los instrumentos* (Osuna, 1555), cited and translated in Borgerding, "The Motet and Spanish Religiosity, ca 1550-1610," (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1997), 1.

[2] Francisco de Montanos, *Arte de Música theoretica y pratica* (Valladolid, 1592), cited and translated in Todd Borgerding, "The Motet," (PhD diss., University ofMichigan, 1997), 2.

[3] Borgerding, "The Motet," 9.

> of the developing Catholic nation. By carefully weighing the interaction of text and music with the theological, ritual, and intellectual spheres in which motets were composed, we can arrive at an informed reading of the Renaissance motet as a persuasive voice in the Spanish Counter Reformation.[4]

The composers in MadM 6829 worked primarily for the church; their means of support was in writing motet settings as well as Masses and other types of sacred settings.[5] These composers, then, sought out sections of text of maximal doctrinal value and set them with heightened expression and declamation. Indeed, featured in the musical settings in MadM 6829 are some of the textural variations and implementation of expressive devices previously reserved for the same composers' church music.[6]

Francisco Guerrero, whose works feature heavily in MadM 6829,[7] certainly granted music that power; in the dedication to Pope Pius V in his motet collection of 1570, he condemned the decrees of the Council of Trent that threatened to ban sacred polyphony, and suggested that his collection could go some way in rehabilitating the tradition. Particularly enlightening were his comments regarding the place of music in religious life:

> [Certain men] who, desiring the imposition of silence and a perpetual cessation of divine things, hope in nothing less than the exile of music from the churches. But such men are condemned by consent of humanity, one still does not find in any part of the world any nation so barbarous or savage that, once imbued of the idea of some divinity, does not at that instant add song to its rites.[8]

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[4] Borgerding, "The Motet," 9.

[5] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, ed. introduction, *Cancionero de Medinaceli*. Monumentos de la Música Española 8-9 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949-50), 1:22-30.

[6] Herminio González Barrionuevo, *Francisco Guerrero* (1528-1599) *vida y obra: La música en la catedral de Sevilla afinales del siglo XVI* (Seville: Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral de Sevilla, 2000), 556. However, this author notes that the compositional use of expressive musical and rhetorical gestures was probably saved for the same composers' church music, particularly motets.

[7] *Cancionero de Medinaceli,* edited by Miguel Querol Gavaldá. Monumentos de la Música Española, 8-9 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949-50), 1:28. Querol adds that, although only seven folios in MadM 6829 include Guerrero's name, concordant sources prove that five more are almost certainly his.

[8] Francisco Guerrero, *Motetta Francisci Guerreri in Hispalensi Ecclesia musicorum praefecti* (Venice, 1570), cited and translated by Borgerding, "The Motet," 24-25.

Guerrero perceived as unimaginable that any civilized culture would not add music to a divine rite, since he claimed that only "barbarous" or "savage" parts of the world would not enhance their holy rites with the power of music. He continued, "If [these religious compositions] win the approbation of your Holiness, ... you will encourage your servant Francisco to continue with his efforts at speaking to the hearts of pious men and at constantly improving upon his former works."[9] Guerrero was implying that music was able to communicate with the emotions of "pious men" in a way that words alone could not, thus attributing music the power to serve as a persuasive doctrinal voice.

According to Bermudo, the composer should choose between simple or elaborate contrapuntal styles for a musical setting by considering the perceived profundity of a genre. He advised composers:

> In your composition, follow the style of the genre in which you are composing. The *villancico* has one style, the *cançoneta* another, and each one maintains its own style and character. The singer who composes a *villancico* in the profound manner of a motet, and a *cançoneta* like a mass, misses the point of composition."[10]

One of the primary considerations of text-setting, then, was the assignation of a generic type.[11] The simplicity of the contrapuntal techniques employed in MadM 6829 suggest that secular texts were not perceived to be as profound as contemporaneous mass or motet settings.[12] Such a perception is important to remember in our consideration of the text-music

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[9] Francisco Guerrero, *Motetta Francisci Guerreri* (Venice, 1570), cited and translated by Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), 182.

[10] Juan Bermudo, *Declaración,* fol. 135: "Seguid en vuestra composicion: el estylo del genero que componeys. Un estilo tiene el villancico, y otro la cançoneta, y cada cosa guarde su estillo y profundidad. El cantor que compusiesse un villancico tan profundo como el motete, y una cançoneta como la missa: no seria atinada composicion."

[11] Borgerding, "The Motet," 220.

[12] Refer to Chapter 3, pages 63-67, for a discussion of the contrapuntal techniques in MadM 6829.

relationship, because the genre's power as a rhetorical or affective tool was dependent on its style.

Contemporaneously, the relationship between language and power was being reevaluated in much the same way as the place of music in the church.[13] Antonio de Nebrija's writing on the subject of language and empire was a rhetorical systemization of how best to use language to serve the ends of the religious state. Nebrija was a renowned Spanish humanist, philologist, and Latinist, whose works included the first codification of Castilian grammar, and the first Castilian dictionary. He was well-versed in the classics, and like a number of his contemporaries, was guided by Ciceronian rhetorical principles.[14]

Nebrija's rhetoric favoured the orator over the poet because the first communicated clearly with his audience, while the second could become preoccupied with matters of style rather than the transmission of doctrine. While his contemporaries often criticized the crude Latin of medieval homilies, Nebrija argued that the clarity of religious doctrine in such works compensated for the perceived lack of style: "What is there in these homilies if not Christian doctrine, written, as you would say, in a humble style, but in what I would call the style most appropriate to announce that doctrine to humble people?" [15] Nebrija's statement demonstrates his preference for the precision and clarity of oratory over subtle, stylistic concerns.

Although Nebrija had no formal training in theology, his writing was greatly admired by the powerful Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436-1517), whose policies were

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[13] See Chapter 2 for detail on how Nebrija, Encina, and other Spanish humanists influenced the development of Spanish literature during the sixteenth century.

[14] For accounts on Ciceronianism, anti-Ciceronianism, and Ramism in Sixteenth Century Spain, see A. García Galiano, *La imitación poética en el Renacimiento* (Kassel: ReichenbergerUniversidad de Duesto, 1992), 340-82; J. M. Núñez González, *El ciceronianismo en España* (Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1993); and Jorge Fernández Lopez, "Rhetorical Theory in Sixteenth Century Spain: A Critical Survey," *Rhetorica* 20, no. 2 (Spring, 2002): 133-148.

[15] Nebrija, *Homilae per diversos autores*, quoted and translated in Borgerding, "The Motet," 217.

dominant agents in the expansion and consolidation of the Spanish empire during the early years of the sixteenth century.[16] Amongst other projects, Cisneros undertook to reform the Church's educational system, a program spearheaded by the establishment of the University of Alcalá in 1508.[17] Not long after its opening, the new university actively engaged in competition with the older and more traditional University of Salamanca. The educational program was innovative compared to the older university, supporting language studies and a philological approach to biblical studies, and the University of Alcalá quickly became recognized as the centre of humanistic activity in Spain.[18] The newer university differed from the traditional program of juridical training at the University of Salamanca in its replacement of the law faculty with a chair of rhetoric.[19] Cisnero's appointment of Nebrija as a lifetime chair of rhetoric in 1514 cemented the place of Nebrijan rhetoric in ecclesiastical training in Spain.

Not only did the majority of composers in MadM 6829 work for the church, they received religious training based on the Alcalá program of education and also had as firsthand models the homilies they heard from preachers in their own churches and cathedrals.[20] The remainder of this chapter investigates to what extent this type of rhetorical training may have affected the way composers considered the musical declamation of

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[16] See Erika Rummel, *Jiménez de Cisneros : on the threshold of Spain's Golden Age* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1999); and John Huxtable Elliott, *Imperial Spain,* 1469-1716 (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963). For detailed exposition of Cisneros' life and activities, see José García Oro, *El Cardenal Cisneros: vida y empresas* (Madrid: Biblioteca de Autores Cristianos, 1992-1993).

[17] Rummel, *Jiménez,* 18. Rummel notes that Nebrija was also heavily involved in the reforms of the Franciscan religious order and the reform of the archdiocese of Toledo.

[18] Rummel. *Jiménez,* 53.

[19] Borgerding, "The Motet," 218.

[20] For a general overview on music education in the Renaissance including a good bibliography, although now dated, see Iain Fenlon, Nan C. Carpenter, and Richard Rastall, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 1st ed., s.v. "Education in Music (II and III);" For a more recent review of Renaissance music education, see Jessie Anne Owens, *Composers at work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), particularly 11-33.

structural aspects of the text such as syntactical and grammatical units, and poetic flow including emotional climaxes.[21]

Detailed close readings of the Italianate settings in MadM 6829 verified that the musical declamation of textual exclamations was a fundamental principle of compositional practice. Luís de Granada, a post-tridentine ecclesiastical rhetorician who carne from the post-Nebrijan generation of Spanish humanists, wrote that students of oratory must listen to the sounds of everyday life to find good models for the delivery of their homilies.[22] He explained with the anecdote:

> In order to clarify what I mean on this point, I will put down what happened between me and a certain novice preacher. He asked me, after I heard him preach, to tell him whether there was anything in his sermon that merited criticism. But he performed the entire sermon from memory, without any variation in his voice, as if he were reciting from memory a psalm of David. On the way home after the sermon I saw two little girls in the road who were talking and laughing with each other. Their speech was moved by a true spirit of the soul, and thus the figures and tones of their voices varied appropriately. And so I said to my companion, "If that preacher had heard these little girls and imitated this same manner of pronunciation, he would have lacked nothing for a perfect performance. As it was, his delivery was destitute of good pronunciation.[23]

Granada urged novice orators to bring the ordinary sounds spoken in the street to their orations, and advocated especially the pronunciation of exclamations such as "Oh" and "Ay" in their spoken sense.[24] Indeed, composers in MadM 6829 paid special attention to the declamation of vocal expressions. Exclamations such as "Ay" are usually set to general pauses surrounding the short exclamation, isolating the interjection before repeating it in the

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[21] Miguel Querol Gavaldá, in "El humanismo musical de la Escuela Sevillana del Renacimiento," *Anuario musical* 31-32 (1976-77): 51-64, suggests that the humanistic and religious environs of Seville during the middle of the sixteenth century probably affected their compositional concerns.

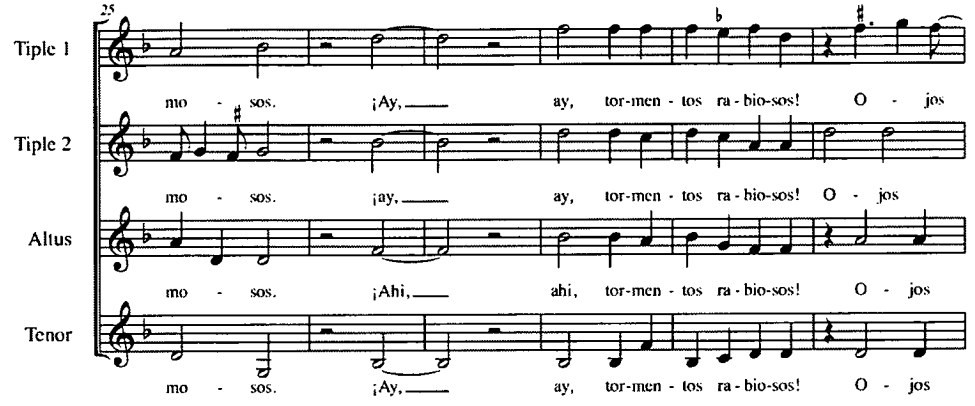
[22] Borgerding, "The Motet," 219.

[23] Luis de Granada, *Rhetorica ecclesiastica* (1572), cited and translated by Todd Borgerding, "Preachers, "Pronunciatio," and Music: Hearing Rhetoric in Renaissance Sacred Polyphony," *The Musical Quarterly,* 82:3/4 (1998), 588.

[24] Granada, *Rhetorica,* 524-27, cited in Borgerding, "The Motet," 226.

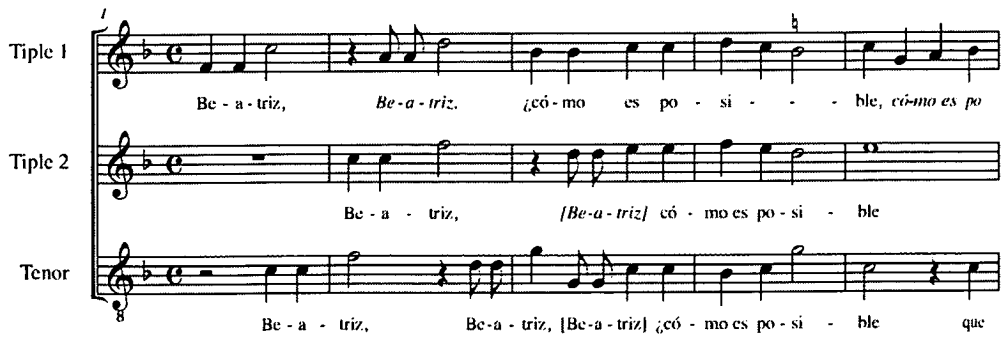
context of the entire line. The following example, from Francisco Guerrero's *Ojos claros y serenos* (CM, no. 1), demonstrates the typical treatment of such exclamations. Additionally, the exclamation in this example was set homophonically, to an agogic accented chord on B-flat for greater contrast to the rest of the line (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Francisco Guerrero, *Ojos claros y serenos*, mm. 25-30



Similarly, names of poetic subjects were often surrounded by rests in their musical settings, before later being repeated in the context of the whole line. In the following example, from *Beatriz, ¿cómo es posible* (CM, no. 60), in each part the cry of "Beatriz" is set to a melodic leap, and set apart from the rest of the phrase (Figure 4.2). The anonymous composer accorded the name "Beatriz" a similarly declamatory musical setting in every instance it was mentioned in the poem.

Figure 4.2. Anonymous, *Beatriz, ¿cómo es posible*, mm. 1-5



In *Hermosa Catalina* (CM, no. 101), *Dexó la venda* (CM, no. 79), and *Hermosa Magdalena* (CM, no. 99) the womens' names were given similar special treatment, along with the name of Cupid in *¿A que vienes, tirano* (CM, no. 80). On the surface, then, composers clearly recognized that particular names and exclamations should attract special attention, much as they do in everyday speech pronunciation. They achieved this text-music coordination by prominently situating the words in the musical setting.

In *Dexó la venda* (CM, no. 79), Francisco Guerrero closely coordinated poetic subject divisions and musical form, but seems to have paid less attention to syntactical divisions. Shown below is the poem, along with its English translation, and an indication of the subject divisions (dotted lines) and musical texture (where 'P' indicates imitative or free polyphony and 'H' a homophonic passage):[25]

		Music
Dexó la venda, el arco y el aljava	He left the strap, the bow and the quiver,	
el laçivo rapaz, ¡donosa cosa!,	the lustful lad, beautiful thing!,	P
por tomar una bella mariposa	in order to catch a beautiful butterfly	
que por el ayre andava.	that was flying through the air.	
Magdalena, la ninfa que mirava	Magdalene, the nymph that was watching	
su descuydo, hurtóle	his carelessness, stole his arms	
las armas y dexóle	from him, and left him	H
en el hermoso prado	in the beautiful meadow	
como a mochacho bobo y descuydado.	like a stupid and careless lad.	
Ya de hoy más no da amor gala ni pena,	Today love gives neither elegance nor pain,	P
que el verdadero amor es Magdalena.	for the real love is Magdalene.	

As can be seen in the diagram above, polyphony and homophony alternate at points of significant change of subject in the poem. The first section, lines one to four, introduces and describes the carefree pastoral setting, replete with a "flying butterfly," and Cupid frolicking in the meadow. The musical setting accompanies the carefree subject with a jaunty, imitative texture. The second section of the poem, lines five to nine, introduces Magdalena, the

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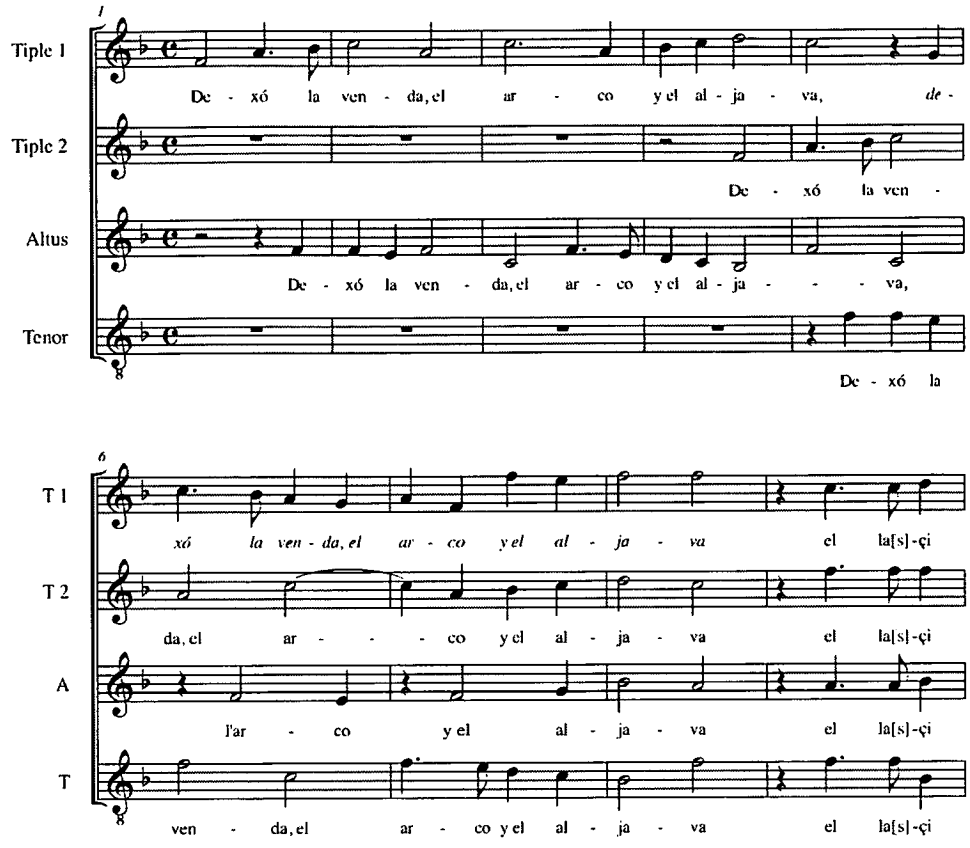
[25] Baltasar de Alcazar, *Dexó la venda*, translation by Angela Buxton, *Cancionero de Medinaceli*, Hesperion XX, Astrée: E8764.

"nymph that was watching" the lad, and describes how she stole his bow and arrow and left him stranded. The musical description of the Magdalena section is markedly different, with elongated note-values and homophonic passages. The final two lines of the poem are a type of epilogue, where the narrator explains that, since Magdalena stole Cupid's arms, she made herself the only true goddess of love. The final section of the music returns to the original imitative texture, responding to the reprisal of Cupid and love as the dominant poetic subjects. Just by examining musical treatment of subject matter in *Dexó la venda,* we see that the musical articulation of subject matter seems to have attracted Guerrero's attention when considering how best to compose according to the needs of the text.

In the same setting, the close pairing of syntactical units and musical form is less consistent. There is no indication that the composer used syntactical divisions as a means of establishing formal divisions in the work; poetic enjambments were not treated in a consistent manner. The textual flow at the enjambment between the first two lines "Dexó la venda, el arco y el aljava/ el lasçivo rapaz, ¡donosa cosa!" ("He left the strap, the bow and the quiver / the lustful lad, beautiful thing!") is completely undermined in the musical setting, with a strong cadence followed by a tutti rest (Figure 4.3):

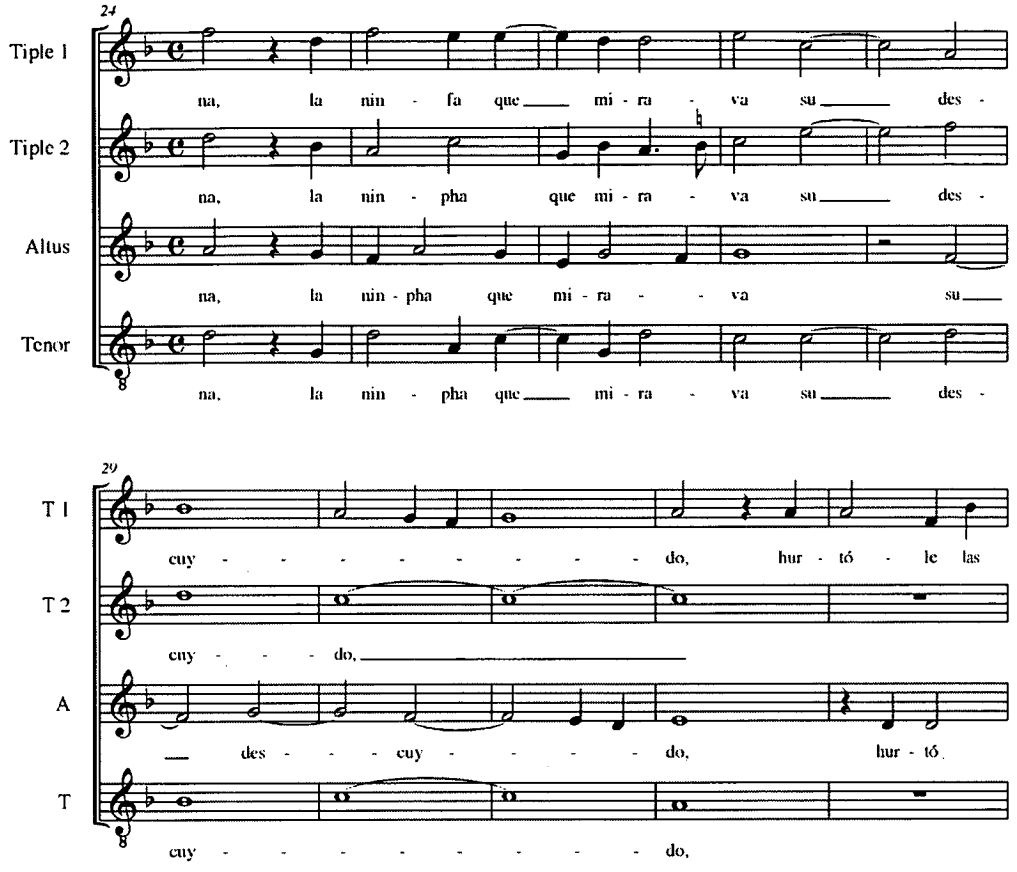
Figure 4.3. Francisco Guerrero, *Dexó la venda,* mm. 1-9.



All voices finish the first poetic line with a strong cadence on F at the word "aljava." A declamatory leap from B-flat to F in the Tenor, along with syllabic unison between voices and a tutti rest after the cadence (measure 8) further strengthens the cadence. The first words of the second line, "el lasçivo" are not in any way connected to the previous phrase, even though the two lines belong together in terms of syntax.

By contrast, the musical setting of the enjambment between lines five and six, "la ninfa que mirava/ su descuydo" (" the nymph who saw/ his confusion"), is seamless, with the cadence that marks the end of the line almost completely obscured (measure 27, Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4. Francisco Guerrero, *Dexó la venda,* mm. 24-33



After all parts cadence on "mirava," the Altus is the only part not to immediately launch into the sixth line over the words "su descuydo" (measure 27). The polyphonic texture and rhythmic values are sustained between the two lines, contributing to the forward musical movement. Furthermore, the triad on C, which marks the end of the fifth line, is repeated with different voicing for the first sonority of the sixth, thus maintaining the congruency between the lines. It is only after a comma break in the middle of the sixth line ("su descuydo, hurtóle") does the forward direction of the setting change (measure 32). Instead of maintaining the slow semibreve movement which stretched over the enjambment between the fifth and sixth lines (measures 27-31), both texture and rhythm change to a quick-moving imitative motif midway through the line. First to enter with the new phrase is the Tiple 1 on A, with the Altus quick to enter a fifth lower on D (measure 32). The other parts soon follow in close imitation (not shown in musical example). This example clearly demonstrates that

Guerrero paid special attention to the case of enjambment, and only changed the musical direction after a punctuation break. It seems, then, that Guerrero was well aware of the syntactical divisions of the poem, but only sometimes chose to observe them. Formal concerns seem to have played a role in Guerrero's text setting process, but certainly not a dominant one. Even the mere existence of such formal considerations suggests that compositional considerations for a close text-music relationship probably stretched beyond the musical artifice that was examined in Chapter 3 of this study, and into the realm of underlying, or structural correspondences between text and music. The remainder of this study concentrates on focussed and selective close readings to highlight other such instances of formal text-music correspondences.

Ginés de Morata used melodic repetition in the sonnet *Ninpha gentíl* (CM, no. 34) as a tool to draw attention to the poetic climax. The theme is a straightforward shepherd's lament of the cruelty of his lover:

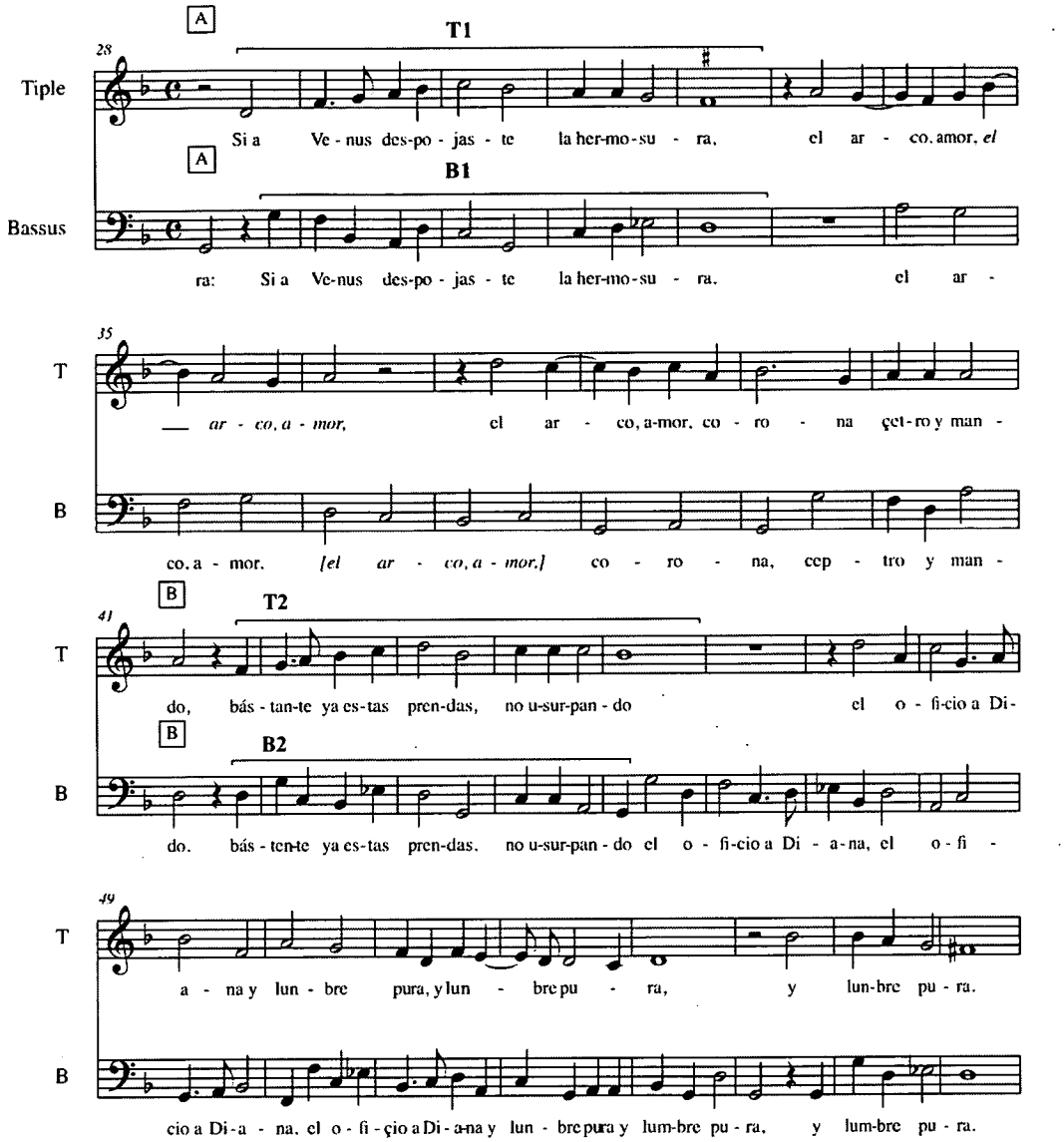
Ninpha gentil, que en medio la espesura del solitario bosque, fatigando los corços, vas las almas despreciando que invidian a las fieras tal ventura:	Gentle nymph, that in the densest thicket of the solitary woodlands, gives chase to the deer, you scorn your human lovers who would envy all the wild beasts' good fortune:
Si a Venus despojaste la hermosura, el arco, amor, corona, çeptro y mando, bástente ya estas prendas, no usurpando el oficio a Diana, y lunbre pura.	If you stripped Venus of beauty, bow, love, crown, scepter and dominion, all these should be enough, love, without stealing from Diana her power and her radiance.
Bien basta que se pruebe dando muerte tu mano entre los honbres, sin que agora tu fuerça entre las fieras se exerçite;	Enough that your hand wreaks destruction among men, without also inflicting devastation on wild beasts;
conçede a su sinpleça el bien de verte, que, si acaso el rigor te dura un hora, no dexarás al mundo que lo habite.	your kindness allows a man to look upon you, and, if you were to leave us in an hour, / that fleeting glimpse of beauty would make its mark on mankind .[26]

[26] Translated by Robert Goodale, introduction, *Ninpha gentíl: madrigal for four-part chorus of mixed voice* (New York: Schirmer, 1973), 3. Minor modifications have been made to his translation by this author where deemed appropriate.

The structural correspondence between the poetry and music in the second quatrain demonstrates that the composer considered the musical form on more than a prosaic level.[27] The unusual choice to repeat a melodic motif in sequence over several poetic lines is expressive, and in this situation is used to symbolize textual links. Instead of a more common setting allocating a unique musical phrase for each line of poetry, Ginés de Morata used similar musical phrases in the two outer parts for the first and third lines of the quatrain, probably articulating the two subjects that divide the quatrain (Figure 4.5):

[27] Like the other seven sonnets in the manuscript, the musical setting of *Ninpha gentí!* was divided into two *partes* of roughly equal length, with a separation between the quatrains and tercets.

Figure 4.5. Ginés de Morata, *Ninpha Gentíl*, mm. 28-56



At the first line of the quatrain, "Si a Venus ..." (measures 28-32), and again at the third, "bástente ..." (measures 41-45) the phrases in both Tiple (TI and T2) and Bassus (B1 and B2) are extraordinarily similar, both rhythmically and melodically. In both cases, the phrases are only four measures long, while the phrases set to the alternate lines two and four of the quatrain are at least double that in length. Thus, the quatrain is divided into two roughly balanced phrases, each of about 12 measures, labelled *A* and *B* in Figure 4.5. The division

between the sections is marked with a strong cadence on D, the tonal centre of the work. The cadence is prepared by a raised leading tone in the Tenor (Tenor part not shown in example) and a leap in the Bassus part. Additionally, it is immediately followed by a tutti rest in all parts before the initiation of phrase *B* of the quatrain. At this cadence, then, there is a clear musical articulation that divides the quatrain into two smaller units. The deliberate division is not based on typical formal poetic divisions; rather, it reflects the subject matter of the quatrain, in which the first half of the quatrain compares the "divine nymph" to Venus, while the second compares her to Diana. It is possible, then, that Ginés de Morata gave the "divine nymph" her own musical motif, the musical phrases TI and T2 from the example above. Following this line of reasoning, the second motifs of each half could each be representative of Venus and Diana, respectively. Thus, the textual similarities combined with the melodic disparities may have been a compositional attempt to give musical meaning to the subjects of Venus and Diana; whilst they were separate entities, both were goddesses and compared to the poet's lover. Regardless, Ginés de Morata certainly used melodic sequencing and resultant structural divisions to to give meaning to particular subject matter, and in so doing, he prioritized the poetic subject over maintenance of the formal structure of the poem.

O *más dura que marmól* (CM, no. 46), a musical setting by Pedro Guerrero of an extract from Garcilaso 's First Eclogue is yet another example of a composer making a text-music connection at the structural level that was more profound than the musical artifices typically associated with the Spanish settings of Italianate poetry: the composer used the musical setting to articulate the emotional climax of the text. The poem displays Garcilaso's typical combination of references to courtly poetic tradition as well as incorporation of Petrarchan idiosyncrasies:[28]

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[28] Translation from Elias L. Rivers, editor, translator, and introduction, *Renaissance and Baroque Poetry of Spain* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1966), 55.

¡Oh más dura que marmól a mis quexas,	Oh harder than marble against my complaints,
y al ençendido fuego en que me quemo	and against the blazing fire in which I burn,
más helada que nieve, Galatea!	more frozen than snow, Galatea!
Estoy muriendo, y aún la vida temo;	I'm dying, and still I fear life;
témola con razón, pues tú me dexas;	I fear it with reason, for you're leaving me,
que no hay, sin ti, el bibir para qué sea.	and without you there is no purpose in living.
Vergüenza he que me vea	I'm ashamed for anyone to see me
ninguno en tal estado,	in such a state,
de ti desamparado,	abandoned by you,
y de mí mismo yo me corro agora.	and I'm embarrassed at myself now.
¿De un alma te desdeñas ser señora,	Do you scorn to be mistress of a soul
donde siempre moraste, no pudiendo	in which you always dwelt, unable
d'ella salir un hora?	to leave it for one moment?
Salid sin duelo, lágrimas, corriendo.	Flow forth freely, tears.

The vivid imagery in the extract is striking: the poet is constrained by a "blazing" fire, which is dramatically juxtaposed to Galatea's scorn that is "more frozen than snow." It is, however, "with reason" that the poet fears life, since he has discovered that Galatea is leaving him; thus, his immense fear is directly attributable to knowledge rather than a fear based on emotion alone. The poet is ruled by his "shame" and "embarrassment" rather than elaborating on his dire emotional state. Don Randel noted that the last line of the stanza, which serves also as a refrain in later stanzas (not included in the musical setting), shows a debt to Castilian poetry of the fifteenth century, with a reference to a work by Garci Sánchez de Badajoz in which "the tears here do not burn. They simply flow forth freely."[29] *O más dura que marmól* is an archetypal example of Garcilaso's style which drew on both traditional and Italianate poetic elements.

Pedro Guerrero's musical setting takes full advantage of the expressive opportunities presented in the vivid imagery, whilst maintaining short, articulated motifs that correspond with the grounded expression of the poem. The first line ("más dura que marmól") opens with a declamatory homophonic texture, firmly situating the setting in mode 4 with a strong

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[29] Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony and the poetry of Garcilaso," *The Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (Autumn, 1974): 64-65. Randel is contrasting the vivid, burning desire of Petrarchan tears to the more neutral implications of Castilian *cancionero* poetry.

cadence on E at the end of the first line, as well as a strong opening chord on A (Figure 4.6, below). The second and third phrases, with the corresponding lines containing vivid Petrarchan juxtapositions between fire and ice, are set to markedly contrasting textures and melodies. The second phrase is a relatively fast-moving polyphonic phrase with a disjunct melody containing several intervallic leaps (measures 8-11). By contrast, the third phrase has a homophonic texture, slow melodic movement, and is melodically static, perhaps in a musical imitation of the "frozenness" of Galatea (measures 11-15).[30] After the declamation of "Galatea," there is a tutti rest which pointedly marks the end of the first section of the setting (measure 15). Such a strong cadence combined with the pause in musical movement is a musical marker of the first poetic syntactical division.[31]

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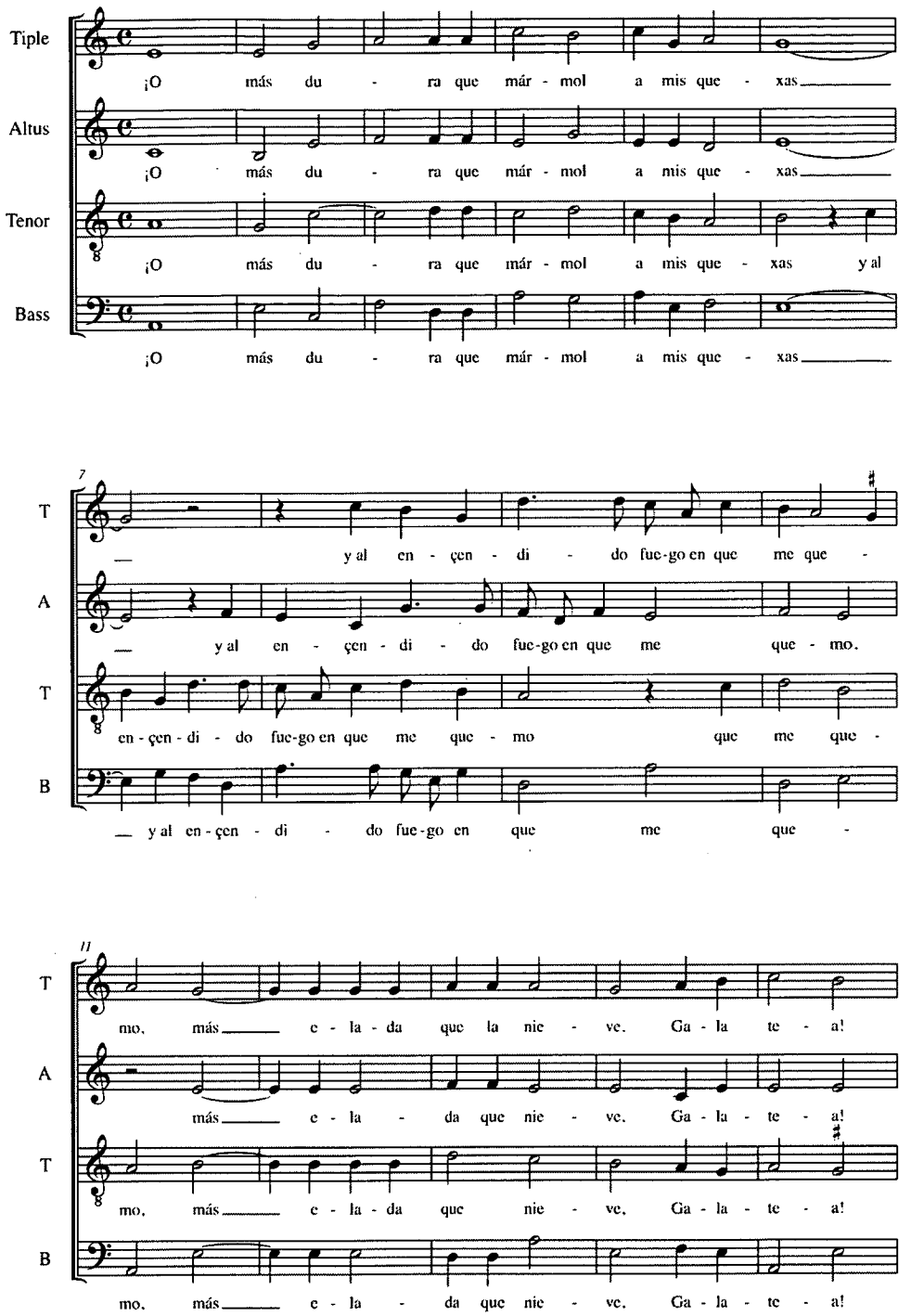
[30] See pages 108-09 of this study for a discussion of the musical treatment of names.

[31] Of the three remaining punctuation points that mark syntactical divisions, two were given similar musical articulation (measures 34 and 63, not shown in the musical example).

Figure 4.6. Pedro Guerrero, *¡O más dura que marmól,* mm. 1-16



However, the full stop marking the end of line ten was treated in an entirely different way; there was no general pause to mark the end of the sentence. Rather, the two lines were dovetailed, leaving musical movement to continue without restriction (measures 49-50).

That Guerrero should have maintained the syntactical divisions for the other three markers of punctuation, but not this one, is perplexing. It is possible that in this instance, he gave priority to musical concerns over textual, and simply continued musical movement against the syntactical unit as he pleased.

Another possibility as to why Guerrero may have continued musical movement over a marker that so definitely breaks the poetry into two distinct syntactical units may have been his consideration of emotional poetic climax. If this were to be the case, it would be important because he was paying attention to actual rhetorical content and structure, rather than the more obvious formal poetic features. To explain, the poet's anguish at Galatea's cruelness steadily builds from the beginning, but it is not until the three short lines seven, eight, and nine, and reaching a climax at line ten, that the poet's torment finally manifests itself as an emotional outburst ("Vergüenza he que me vea / ninguno en tal estado, / de ti desamparado, / y de mí mismo yo me corro agora.").[32] Adding to the dramatic effect of the emotional climax, lines seven, eight and nine are unique in that they are the only seven-syllable lines of the poem.[33] Thus, momentum is built across all three lines due to their short length. Furthermore, the first adjacent rhymes of the poem are between lines six and seven, creating tension and forward movement, which is followed by a poetic enjambment between line seven and eight. In short, the poet created a very tight poetic climax where both emotion and formal features build to a climax at line ten. Compositional manipulations seem to suggest that Guerrero prioritized this poetic and emotional climax in his musical setting. The melody that belongs to line seven is repeated, with variations, over the subsequent two lines (Figure 4.7). The repeated musical phrase is articulated in the musical example by square brackets.

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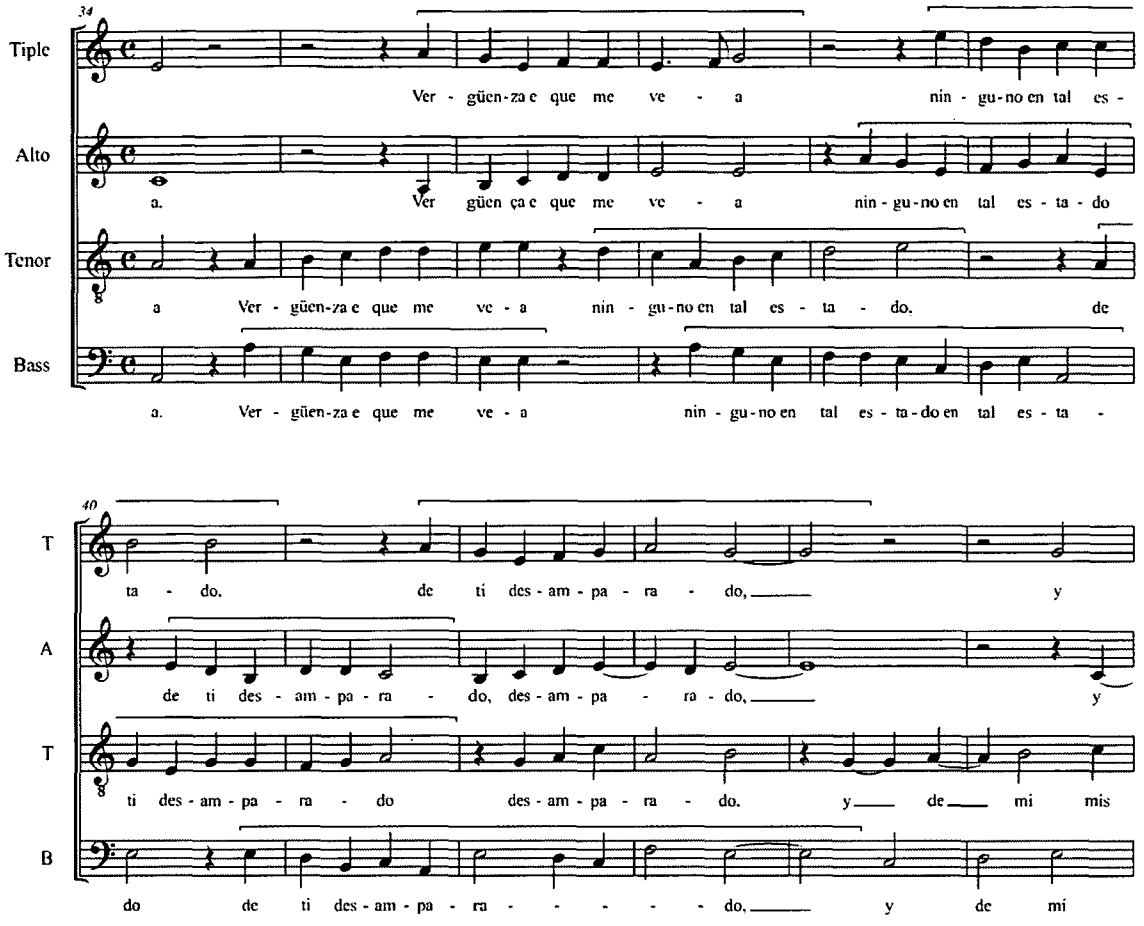
[32] "I'm ashamed for anyone to see me/ in such a state'/ abandoned by you,/ and I'm embarrassed at myself now."

[33] Refer to page 117 for the poem in full, along with an English translation.

Figure 4.7. Francisco Guerrero, *O más dura,* mm. 34-45



If the composer intended to musically articulate the emotional climax of the poetry by using repeated melodic sequences to build tension and movement, it would thus explain his choice to hide the cadence marking the full stop at the end of line ten, preferring instead to maintain the musical movement already created. In *¡O más dura que marmol,* then, we may be glimpsing a compositional attempt to utilize music as a rhetorical tool, prioritized over formal concerns of syntax, or aesthetic concerns of style.

Francisco Guerrero's setting of *Ojos claros y serenos* (CM, no. 1) displays not only an extraordinary correspondence between musical structure and the poetic mode of expression , but also a sensitivity in musical language allied to the sound of the language of the poem. *Ojos claros y serenos* was written by Sevillian poet Gutierre de Cetina, and according to J.B.

Avalle-Arce, "Cetina's madrigal was one of the most famous poems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries."[34] It spawned a number of imitations by contemporary poets including Lope de Vega and Luís de Góngora. Guerrero's musical setting, too, must have been extraordinarily popular; besides the setting in MadM 6829, it was also included *a lo divino* in his collected spiritual villancicos and madrigals *(Canciones y villanescas espirituales,* 1589), as well as Fuenllana's *Orphenica Lyra* (Seville, 1554), and manuscript collections in Valladolid (VallaC 255) and Puebla, Guatemala (PueblaC 19). It is little wonder, then, that it was chosen as the opening work of MadM 6829. The prevailing rational poetic mode of expression was given musical allegory in Guerrero's musical setting:[35]

Ojos claros y serenos	Clear and serene eyes,
si de un dulçe mirar sois alabados,	if by a sweet glance you are enhanced,
¿por qué, si me miráis, miráis airados?	why, if you look at me, do you look angrily?
Si quanto más piadosos,	The more pious your eyes,
más bellos pareçéis a quien os mira,	the more beautiful you seem to whoever looks at you;
no me miréis con ira,	don't look at me with anger,
porque no parezcáis menos hermosos.	so that you won't seem less beautiful.
¡Ay, tormentos raviosos!	Oh, raging torments!
Ojos claros y serenos,	Clear and serene eyes,
ya que ansí me miráis, miradme al menos.	if you look at me so, at least keep doing it.

The rhyme structure was de-emphasized by the irregularly spaced seven- and eleven-syllable lines, although the poem can be clearly divided into three distinct sections: lines 1-3, in which the poet introduces his subject and questions why she must gaze angrily upon him; lines 4-7, in which he argues why she should be kinder to him; and lines 8-10, in which the poet, overtaken by emotion, concludes that any glance would be better than none at all. The clear and serene eyes of a beautiful woman are the major theme, a typical Petrarchan description of the eyes of a woman. In this instance, however, the central theme of "the eyes" has a twist, since traditionally, the beauty of a woman is heightened by her angrily

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[34] Donald McGrady, "Notas sobre el madrigal "Ojos claros, serenos" de Cetina" *Hispanic Review* 65, no. 4 (1997), 379.

[35] Translation by this author.

flashing eyes.[36] In the eyes of this poet, rather than being enhanced, her beauty is apparently lessened by her cruelty. Such a twist is some indication of the poet's inclination for rational grounding rather than Petrarchan flight of fancy. There are two Petrarchan antitheses in the work: in the first three lines her idealized light and serene eyes are contrasted to their present angry state, and the juxtaposition of anger and piety from lines four to seven. Like many Spanish poems written in the Italianate genres, the work is grounded in rhetoric and sensibility; not once does the poet stray from his logical argument when directly pleading his beloved not to look angrily at him. He justifies his plea by rationalizing that his beloved would be more beautiful if she acted more piously. Even at line eight, where the poet is momentarily overtaken by 'raging torments' in an emotional climax, sensibility quickly gets the better of him, as he (logically) decides that, if he cannot succeed in persuading his beloved to look upon him favorably, he would prefer an angry look to none at all. In this way, the poem is not at all akin to the Petrarchan mode of expression, which was more an internal spiritual journey that never fully stopped or grounded.[37]

Consistent coordination is found between the grounded rationale of *Ojos claros y serenos* and its musical setting, which consists of short, articulated musical phrases and frequent cadence points. Each poetic line is set to a unique musical motif, and usually separated by a cadence point. Phrases are frequently only four measures long, although occasionally a line is repeated, resulting in a longer phrase. By far, the longest phrase is the repeated final line in paired counterpoint (measures 33-49, not shown), and is the only point in the work where Guerrero allowed the contrapuntal fabric to break from declamatory homophony to pursue an imitative and more complicated texture. Such short and well-defined motifs of roughly equal length, as well as the consistently declamatory contrapuntal

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[36] McGrady, "Notes sobre el madrigal," 380.

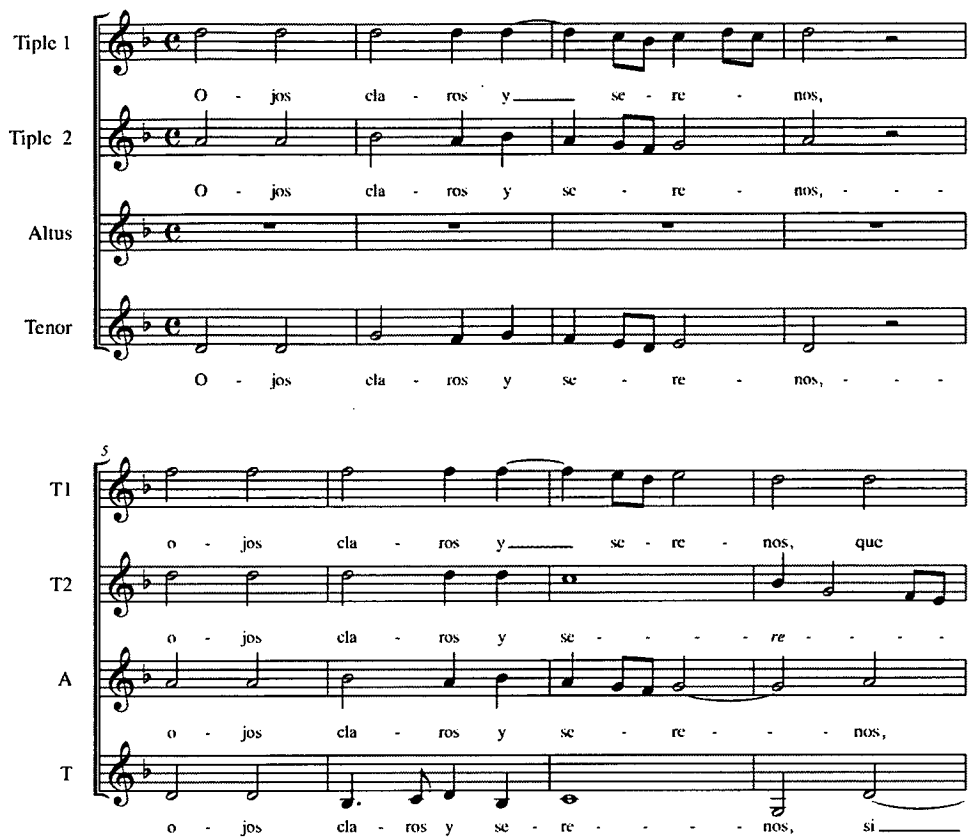
[37] Martha Feldman, "Venice and the madrigal in the sixteenth century," (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1987), 198-199.

fabric shows a high level of compositional concern for overall coherence and unity of the musical setting with the text. Furthermore, Guerrero paid close attention to the syntactical divisions of the poetry when creating distinct musical settings.[38] The following analysis of *Ojos claros y serenos* shows, though, that Guerrero considered coordination between the musical setting and more subtle aspects of poetic expression at least equally important as structural text-music correspondences.

As mentioned above, the strength of cadences seems to have been closely coordinated with the grammar of the text; when the poet reached a full stop or other articulation, the cadence was strongest, and at points of enjambment or the continuation of a poetic theme across lines, the cadence was either obscured or weakened. The musical setting begins with a sparse texture of only three voices, with a clear and serene opening phrase before a reprise with a fuller texture (Figure 4.8). The narrow compass between the outer parts contributes to the unadorned nature of the opening phrase.

[38] The musical setting was divided into three sections, according to the syntactical divisions of the poetry: lines 1-3,4-7 and 8-10 (measures 1-16, 17-25, and 26-49). Each section division was accompanied by a clearly marked cadence and followed by a general pause.

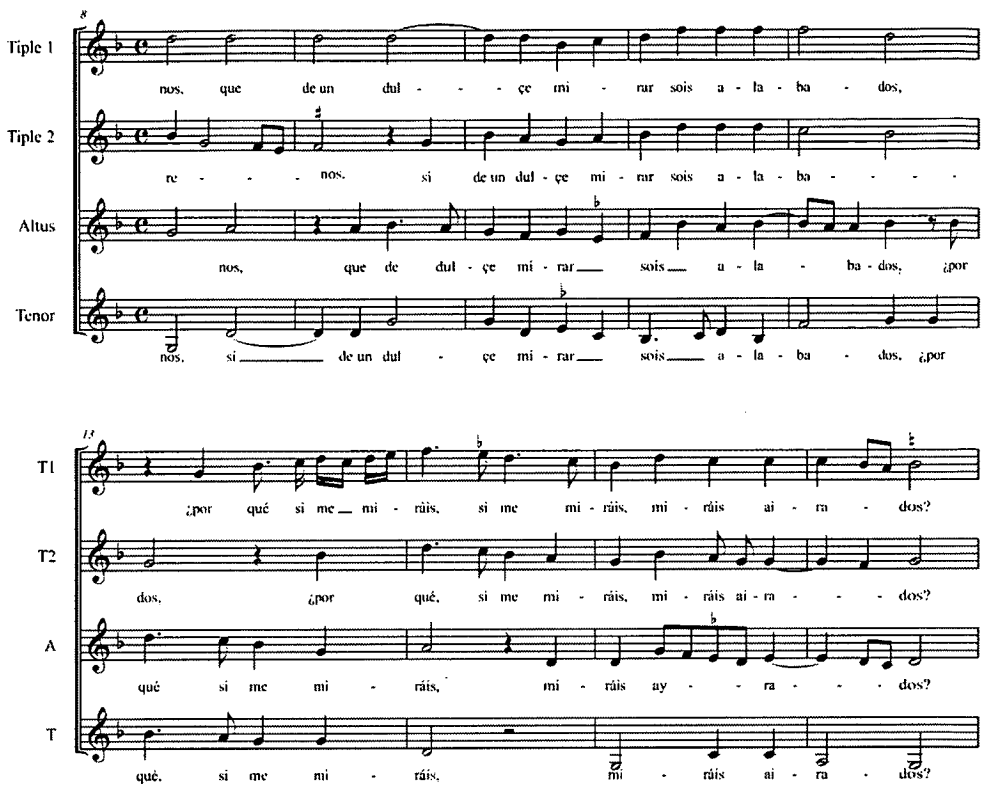
Figure 4.8. Francisco Guerrero, *Ojos claros y serenos,* mm. 1-8



The strength of the octave cadence on D between Tiple 1 and Tenor (measure 4) is enhanced by the melodic embellishment in the three voices. Such a sparse texture, open voicing, and fauxbordon figure of the moving sixths between the three parts musically articulates the "clear and serene eyes." The cadence at the end of the repeat of the first line (measure 8), however, is weak and obscured. In the measure earlier, the cadential voices Tiple 1 and Altus sound an E and G, respectively, as if prepared to move to an octave cadence on F. The voices, however, unexpectedly move to an unprepared cadence on G. The four voices do not come to syllabic unison over the cadence point and sonorities leading up to it, dramatically weakening the cadence. Furthermore, the first musical phrase is dovetailed into the second, with all voices ploughing forwards through the weak cadence.

The remainder of the first section, lines two and three, demonstrates similarly coordinated cadential patterning and poetic structure (Figure 4.9).

Figure 4.9. Francisco Guerrero, *Ojos claros y serenos,* mm. 8-17



Line two closes with a cadence on G (measure 12). It is rather weak, with no voice other than the Tenor on the first degree of the triad, and like the segue between lines one and two, is further weakened by the sudden interruption of the third line, first in the Tenor, followed closely by the Altus. The interlocking phrases are sufficient to maintain coherence between the first two lines and the third, even with the sudden change of texture and rhythmic movement at the third line (measures 13-16).

The dramatic melodic contour, embellishments, and imitative texture of the third line suggest that Guerrero placed special importance on it, and sure enough, the first strong cadence of the work appears at the end of line three (measure 16, Figure 4.9, above). Even

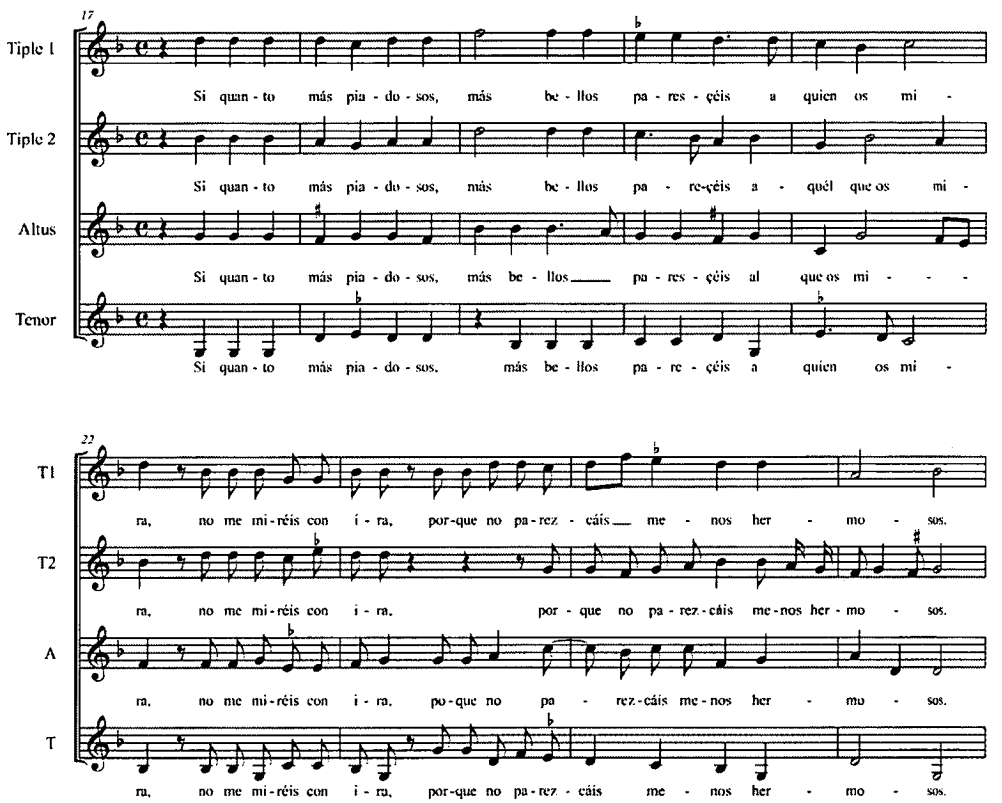
though the individual phrases set to lines one and two are clearly defined with cadential markers and marked alternations between homophony and polyphony, their strength is diminished (discussed above). At the end of the third line, however, Guerrero did not undermine the cadence at all, leaving a perfectly prepared and executed octave cadence on G, the tonal centre of the setting. The cadential voices, F in Tiple 2 and A in the Tenor, move from a minor sixth to an octave, with embellishments in Tiple 1 and Altus. The embellishments are identical to those earlier in the setting (measure 3, Fig. 4.8, above) and contribute to the overall cohesiveness of the first section. Further, syllables in all parts are in unison from the first of the three cadential sonorities, thus achieving maximal declamatory value. Thus, Guerrero displayed extraordinary sensitivity towards the text in the cadential patterning of the first section of the poem, saving the strongest cadence and phrase for the end of the syntactical unit.

The cadential patterning of the rest of the work continues to follow the divisions of poetry; just as the poem was syntactically divided into three main sections (lines 1-3,4-7 and 8-10), the next strong cadence does not occur until the end of lines seven and ten (not shown). The close coordination between cadential patterning and syntactical units of poetry is an exemplar of Guerrero's demonstrable understanding of, and musical response to, the rhetorical contours of the poem.

Guerrero seems to have considered important the musical articulation of dominant and subordinate clauses. There is an uncommon and unresolved cadence on B-flat (in a setting with a tonal centre of G) at the end of the subordinate clause "no me miréis con ira," ("don't look at me in anger") (Figure 4.10). The cadence on a B-flat triad (measure 22) is the first, and only, cadence not on G or D in the setting, a fact immediately audibly distinguishable. Furthermore, increased musical tension due to decreased note-values and a very short cadence with no preparation adds to the forward movement of the music, and

leads to the expectation of a resolution in the following phrase. Sure enough, the setting quickly reaches a conclusion with a well-prepared cadence on the tonal centre of the work, G. This cadential patterning is tightly coordinated with the grammatical links between the subordinate and main clauses of the poetry, coinciding with the emotional climax of the poetic structure.[39]

Figure 4.10. Francisco Guerrero, *Ojos claros y serenos,* mm. 17-25



Although the cadence at the subordinate clause, at the end of line five (measure 22), is a well prepared octave cadence, the Tiple 2 and Tenor parts moving from a major sixth to octave interval, it is the only cadence in the work not on the final or tenor of mode 1, and, as such, is an unusual and unexpected sonority. The cadence is immediately followed by a musical phrase that reinforces the implication of a harmonic centre of B-flat before returning to the

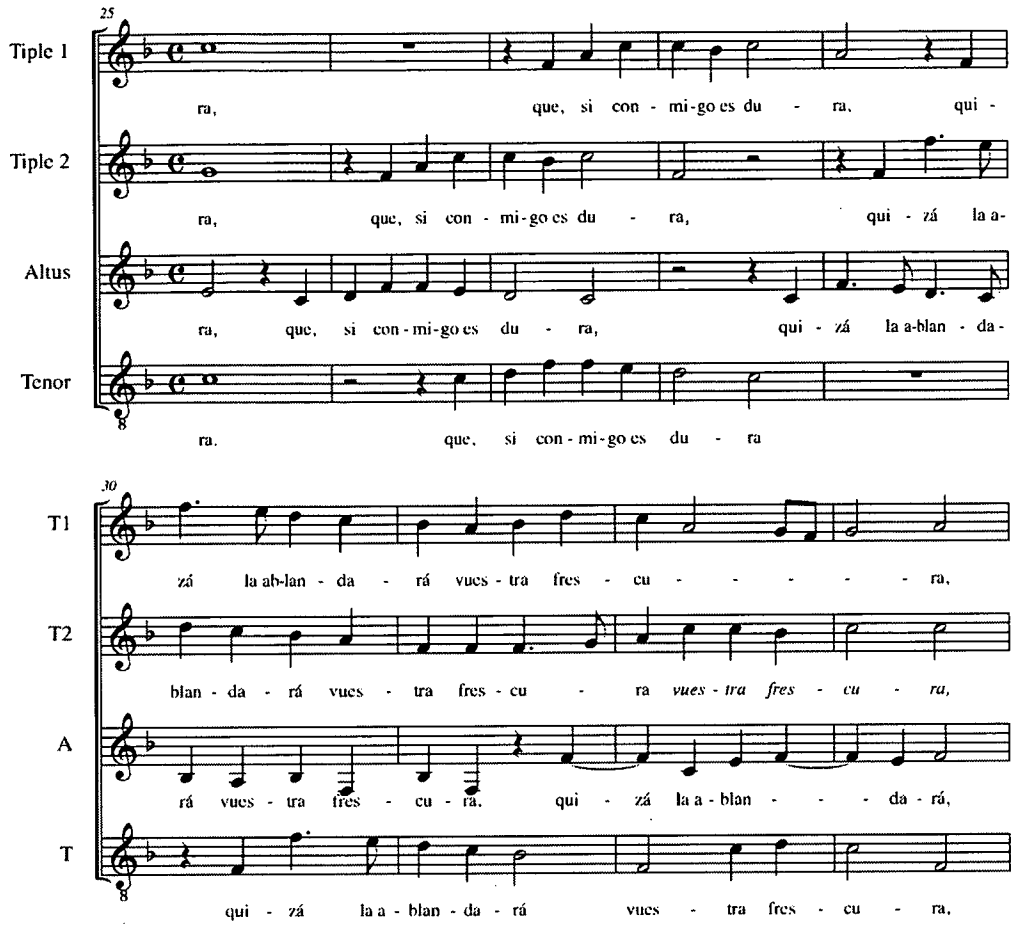
[39] See page 123 of this study for a discussion of the emotional structure of the poem.

more stable harmonic centre of G within the same phrase. The interruption of the unannounced temporary harmonic centre and its subsequent resolution both draws attention to the emotional climax of the poem, and relates the musical motifs to each other as subordinate and superior, mirroring the relation between the grammatical clauses. The tonal relations between the two phrases indicates that Guerrero deeply considered the form and content of the poem as a structural concern in setting the text.

Even at first glance, Guerrero's setting of *Prado verde y florido* (CM, no. 44) establishes a strong bond between music and text, with musical artifices abounding: rhythmic values were augmented in order to paint the unending pain of the poet, imitative voice entries in a musical imitation of the sound of whispering mentioned in the poem, and a dramatic ascending melodic leap over the questioning "quizá" (" perhaps," measures 28-30, Figure 4.11, below). More importantly, the coordination between syntactical and musical structure suggests that higher-level structural concerns played a part in Francisco Guerrero's popular musical setting.

In *Prado verde y florido,* Guerrero seems to have paid special attention in coordinating his musical setting with the grammar of the last two lines of the first stanza. The penultimate line, "que, si conmigo es dura" ("since she is hard with me" is an incomplete subordinate clause without the subsequent main clause "quiza la ablandará vuestra frescura" ("perhaps your freshness will soften her"). Similarly, the musical setting links the two lines and reflects the dependence of the penultimate line on the final line by using similar musical phrases and reserves the strongest cadence for the conclusion of the main clause (Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11. Francisco Guerrero, *Prado verde y florido,* mm. 25-33



In the excerpt, the Altus is the first to enter, followed closely in imitation by the remaining three parts, each at two crotchet beat intervals (measures 25-27). The order of imitative entries is repeated for the second line (measures 28-30), with only the Tiple 1 and Bassus parts swapping the order of their entries. So, although the melodic phrases were unique for each line, the imitative entries and similar rhythmic movement of both phrases are similar enough to musically relate to one another. Furthermore, the cadence at the end of the first line is completely obscured by the smooth dovetailing of the two motifs, with the Altus entering with the second motif before either the Tiple 1 or Bassus parts have even finished their first motif (measure 28), thus reserving the strongest cadence on F for the end of the main clause (measure 33). The treatment of the grammar of the poem was markedly more

careful than the typical treatment of poetic enjambment in the repertory of MadM 6829, and shows that Guerrero was sensitive to the grammatical construction of the poem as well as the more obvious punctuation marks of the syntactical units.

Like several other settings in the manuscript, in *Amargas oras* (CM, no. 13) by Andalusian composer Rodrigo de Ceballos, the cadential patterning and musical structure are closely coordinated with the syntactical structure of the poem. Ceballos incorporated irregular poetic license and frequent cases of enjambment in text-setting. The poem, with its depth of expression and subjectivity, offered the composer a host of opportunities for musical expression:

¡Amargas oras de los dulçes días	Bitter hours of those sweet days
en que me deleyté! ¡Qué bien he habido	in which I delighted! How well
dolor! Vergüença y confusión han sido	I have known grief! Shame and confusion have been
el fruto de mis tristes alegrías.	the fruit of my sad joys.
¡Ay Dios!, porque me amas me sufrías;	Oh God! because you love me you made me suffer;
que es gesta del amante ser vencido	since defeat is the lover's lot
y mía: que verán por lo sufrido	and mine; for this suffering will reveal
su gran bondad y las maldades mías.	your great goodness and my sins.[40]

Italianate imagery takes a prominent role in the poem.[41] Particularly, the Petrarchan antithesis pervades; "sweet days" are filled with "bitter hours," and the poet's "joy" has only borne "shame and confusion." Furthermore, the joy itself is "sad." Similarly, the oxymoron "because you love me, you made me suffer" is the theme of the second quatrain, argued to the logical conclusion that "this suffering will reveal [God's] great goodness and my sins." However, by the second quatrain, the moralizing theme of God and His greatness has clearly overtaken the theme of the poet's suffering which dominated the first quatrain.[42] The poem is comprised of two quatrains with exclusively eleven-syllable lines, and identical rhyme

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[40] Translated in Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 70.

[41] Randel provides a good analysis of musical responses to the imagery of this poem in Randel, "Sixteenth Century Spanish polyphony," 71-74.

[42] Randel, "Sixteenth Century polyphony," 70.

schemes ABBA ABBA. The strength of the rhyme scheme is significantly undermined by poetic enjambment between every internal line in both quatrains.

Ceballos' coordination between musical and poetic form was meticulous. Although he maintained the tradition of setting a cadence to mark the end of each line, the strength of the cadences consistently correspond to the syntactical units of the poem; at enjambments, the cadences are weak or interrupted. In the first quatrain, the strongest cadence is not until the very end of the fourth line (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12. Rodrigo de Ceballos, *¡Amargas oras*, mm. 1-25

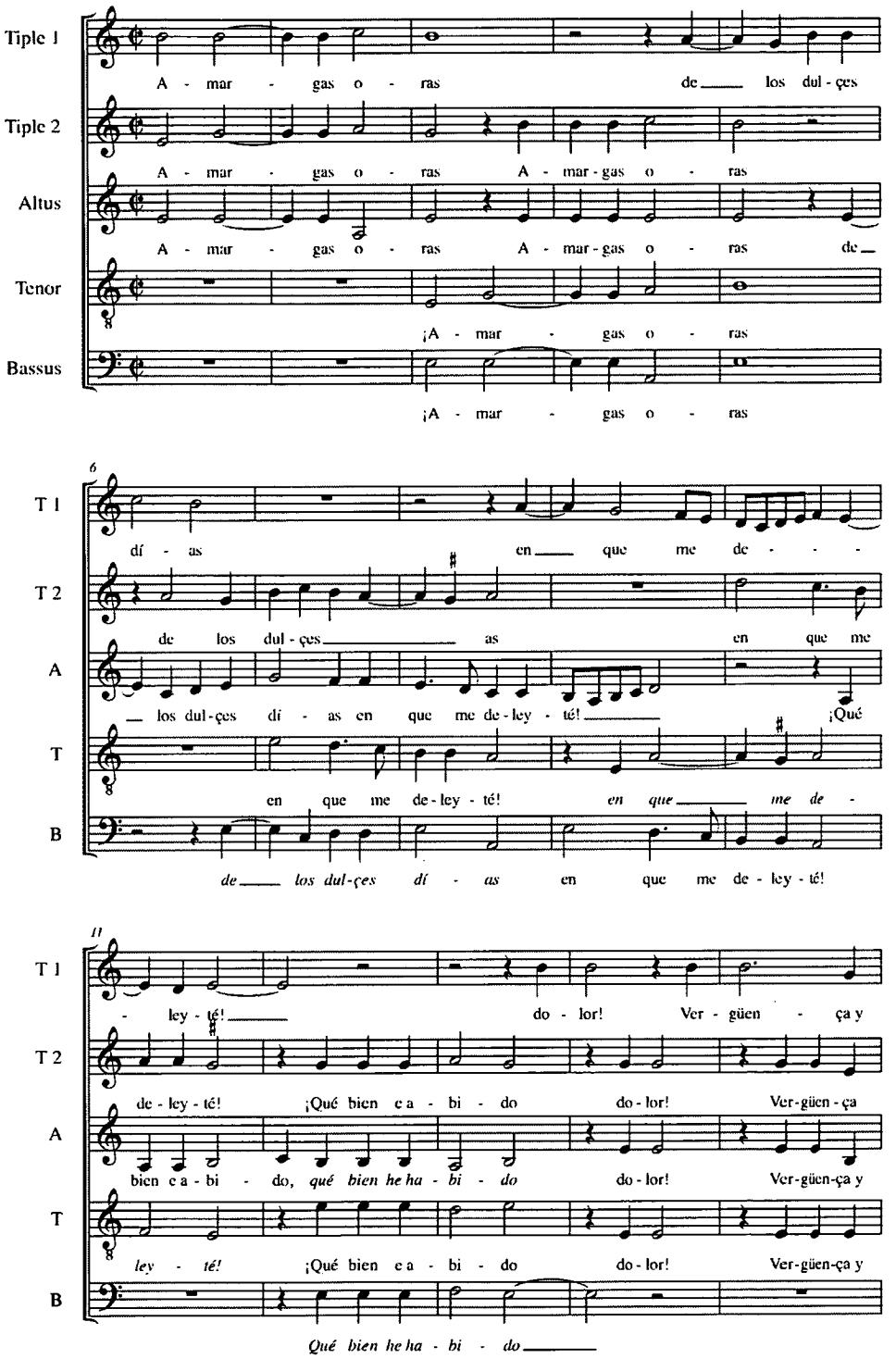
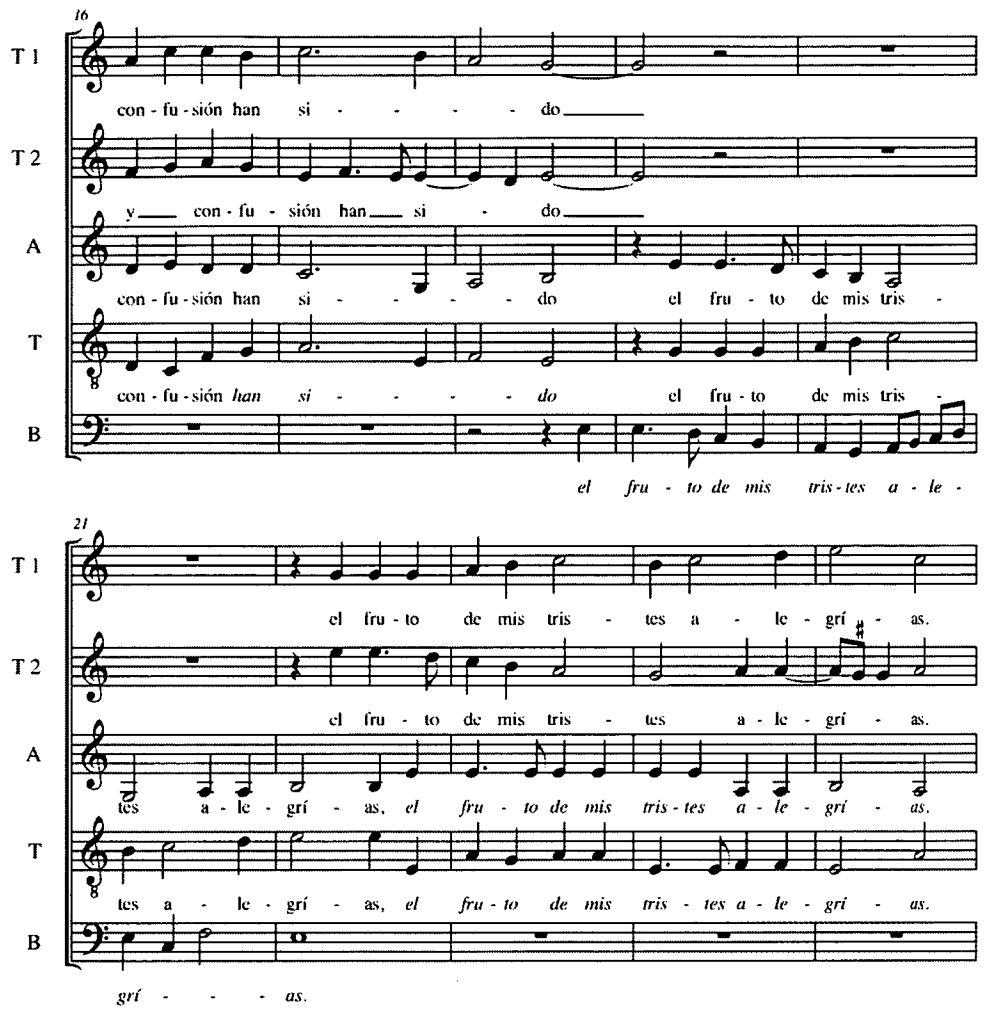


Figure 4.12 (cont). Rodrigo de Ceballos, *¡Amargas oras*, mm. 1-25



Although the cadence on A at the end of line one (measure 8) is in many ways strong (with a downward leap in the Bassus: the Tiple 2 and Tenor move in contrary motion to an octave cadence with a dissonant passing tone in the Altus, creating a suspension and resolution, there are signs of a deliberate weakening of the cadence. Whilst the Tenor and Altus parts cadence with the other parts, the words set are to the second line, not the first, thus weakening the clear finish of the first line. Also, the Tiple 1 and Altus parts interrupt the cadence at the end of the first line by beginning their declamation of the second (measures 7-8). The cadence on E that marks the exclamation point in the middle of the second line (measure 11) is similarly slightly weakened, although less so: the dovetailing effect was

lessened by the rests in the Tiple 2, Tenor, and Bassus parts that demarcate the beginning of the third. At the end of the second line (measure 13), the cadence on E and its preparation is almost identical to that two measures earlier, perhaps a musical gesture that the two cadences belong to the same poetic line. The single Tiple 1 voice that interrupts the cadence with a setting of the third line is dramatic and declamatory. It prompts a call-and-response phrase that forcibly broadcasts the emotional "shame" and "confusion" that the poet expresses in the third line. The motif over the final line of the first quatrain (measures 19-25) is no less dramatic. A fairly simple stepwise pattern, the motif is first heard in the three lowest voices before being repeated in the two upper voices. The dramatic contrast in range illustrates the emotional heights and depths of the antithetical "sad joys." Clearly, the musical setting of the first quatrain is extremely sensitive to the nature of the text. Cevallos saved the declamatory homophonic passages for the intense emotions of the third and fourth lines. He consistently observed poetic enjambment by either setting the subsequent motif in one or more parts before the cadence, or interrupting the cadential sonority with one or more parts, disallowing the musical movement to pause, or even slow, between lines. Only at the cadence marking the end of the first quatrain did Ceballos allow the voices to cadence uninterrupted (measure 25).

The next strong cadence was not set until the end of the second line of the second quatrain (Figure 4.13).

Figure 4.13. Rodrigo de Ceballos, *¡Amargas oras*, mm. 26-57

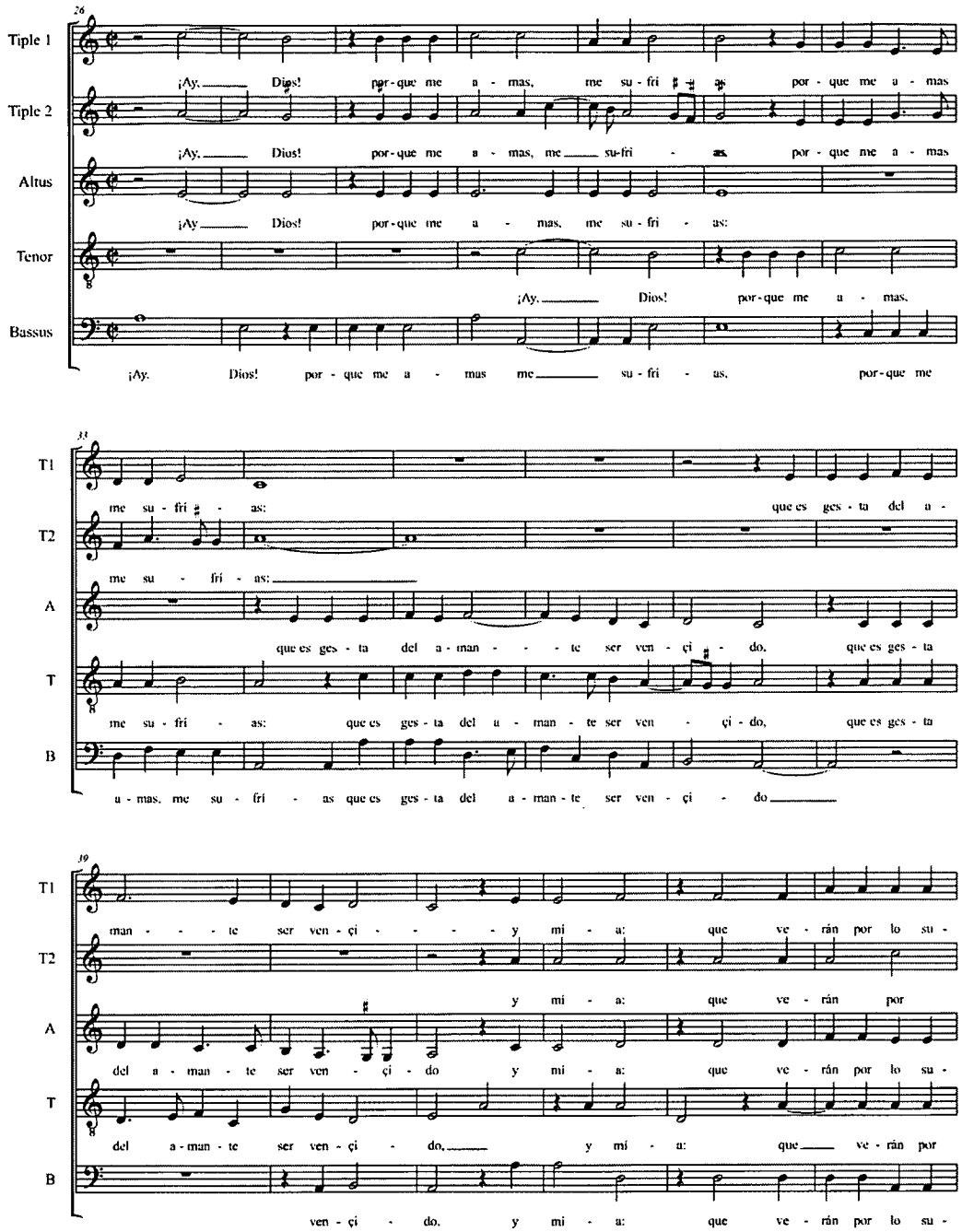
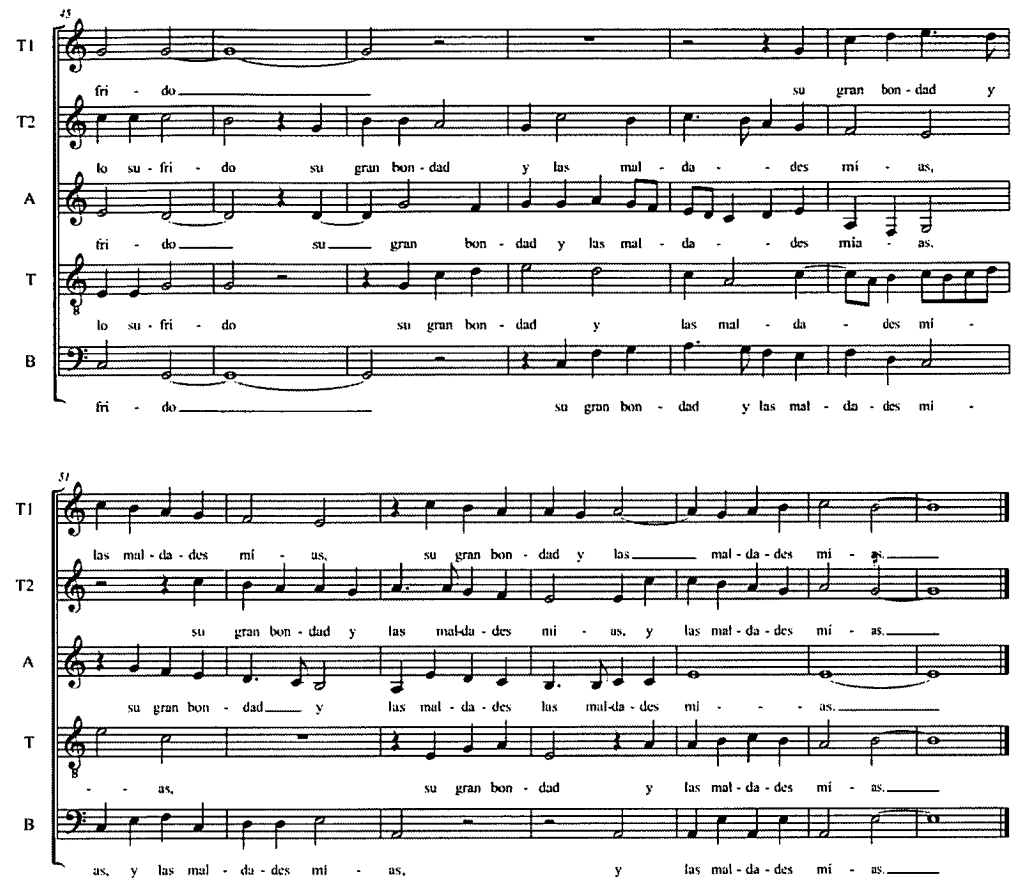


Figure 4.13 (cont). Rodrigo de Ceballos, *¡Amargas oras*, mm. 26-57



At the enjambment between lines six and seven, the way in which the poet identifies himself as a defeated lover ("Since defeat is the lover's lot/and mine") is quite modest, relegating himself to the subject background and thus downplaying the importance of his own subjective experience. The displacement of "y mía" to the end of the sentence, and over a line break, seems to have been unusual enough to warrant special musical treatment; this point in the setting is the only cadence over a poetic enjambment that does not dovetail the two lines in some way (measure 41). Ceballos scored an octave cadence on A between the Altus and Bassus, and after a moment's rest, the voices quickly follow with another cadence over "y mía" (measure 42). This cadence is weaker than that of the preceding measure, because of the blending of the Tenor voice which begins line seven over the top of the cadence. It is most unusual to find such clearly defined cadences within one measure of each

other. In fact, the one measure setting sounds as almost an addendum to the previous line, much like the manner in which the words are themselves presented in the poem. The sharpness between the two motifs, in contrast to Ceballos' treatment of the other cases of enjambment in the work, adds to the unusual effect.

The case studies outlined above demonstrate that, as a group, the composers of Italianate settings in MadM 6829 tended to allow the formal, syntactical, and rhetorical constructions of the poem playa role in text-setting. The process of attributing the compositional process to profound poetic consideration is bound to involve a certain amount of conjecture. However, close readings of the settings have established that at least some composers must have had such considerations in mind. No composer seems to have allowed such concerns complete priority over the compositional process; between a single composer's settings, such as Francisco Guerrero's *Dexó la venda* and *Ojos claros y serenos,* the level at which he let the formal construction of the poem guide his compositional process fluctuated dramatically. Additionally, the majority of settings do not seem to have so tightly coordinated poetic and musical form as those examples given above.

What the readings do have in common is that the effect of such subtle correspondences between subject matter and music is immediately aurally perceptible. The cadential patterning, dovetailing of lines, repeated melodies and other compositional manipulations thus functioned in much the same way as the stylistic flourishes identified in Chapter 3. The expression and meaning in the musical settings was clear and straightforward, akin to the dominant rhetorical practice, typified in Nebrija's praise of oratory over poetry and clarity of exegesis over aesthetic concerns.

The subtle but tangible similarities between the Spanish brand of rhetoric that favoured clarity and simplicity in both oratory and musical expression are noteworthy. Although the works in MadM 6829 do not stylistically share features with the same

composers' motet settings, both genres were composed with demonstrable concern for the clarity of textual exegesis and rhetorical flow.[43] It is no surprise, then, that unusually nuanced correspondences between poetic constructs and their musical settings were found in several works; Spanish church composers considered the text-music relationship in the rhetorical tradition in which they were educated, even when writing secular music.

However, just as Bermudo advised composers to consider the style of a genre in composition, warning against the composition of a villancico in the same manner as a motet, the level of profundity in the approach to text-setting in the secular repertory never moved beyond one particular style. There is no concrete evidence that explicitly states that the Italianate poetry was considered any more (or less) profound than other genres, but it is indubitable that secular settings were deemed lower on the scale than sacred settings. The apparent lack of interest in the genre, then, could have been due in part to a type of sixteenth century Spanish religiosity.

The lack of stylistic innovation, combined with the paucity of surviving sources, has consigned the MadM 6829 repertory, and indeed, the entire Spanish madrigal repertory, to a peculiar critical fate.[44] Though the repertory is usually included in any survey of Spanish secular music of the Renaissance, neither the works nor their contexts have merited significant in-depth investigation. Rosanne King's remarks typify the generalizations that accompany scholarly comment on the Spanish madrigal repertory:

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[43] Stylistic and formal features of Spanish motets are discussed Emilio Ros-Fábregas, "The Manuscript Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, M. 454: Study and Edition in the Context of the Iberian and Continental Manuscript Traditions" (PhD diss., City University of New York, 1992); Wolfgang Freis, "Cristóbal Morales and the Spanish Motet in the First Half of the Sixteenth Century: An Analytical Study of Selected Motets and Competitive Settings in SevBC 1 and TarazC 2-3" (PhD diss., U niversity of Chicago, 1992); and J ane Morlet Hardie, "The Motets of Francisco de Peñalosa and Their Manuscript Sources" (PhD diss. University of Michigan, 1983).

[44] Issues of nationalism in scholarship seem to have limited Spanish musicological investigation into the Italianate repertory. Equally, a bias of Western musical historiography against Spanish art music has seen little research done in the area. See Chapter 1 of this study for a more detailed discussion of these problems.

> The novelties introduced into Spanish poetry through the Italian [neo-Petrarchan] tradition offered new possibilities in the area of text setting ... In spite of this, Spanish interest in textual portrayal in general did not reach past the use of occasional word painting and chromaticisms. Spanish poets and composers, including Guerrero, clearly took what they thought interesting from Italian art of the time and adapted it for their own purposes - which very obviously were different from those of their model. The music bears resemblance to the preceding generation of Italian composers such as Arcadelt and Verdelot, but not because there was an inability on the part of the Spaniards to understand or follow their models more closely. Clearly they had different objectives in mind, and just as clearly the taste and interest of their consumers were of a vastly different nature than that of their Italian counterparts and betray an aesthetic that is different in Spain than in Italy.[45]

By assuming that the Spaniards "took" Arcadelt or Verdelot's musical aesthetics as a model, King assumed that the Spanish conception of textual portrayal was exclusively based on the occasional use of word painting or other musical conceits. The case studies in this chapter demonstrate that composers of Italianate genres in MadM 6829 considered the poetry on a deeper level rather than attending consistently to the madrigalesque conceits.[46]

Previous descriptions of the MadM 6829 repertory have relied on an approach that finds musical expression and meaning in literal mimeses of poetic objects. In assuming that madrigalisms designed to create dramatic or pictorial settings were the primary means of textual portrayal, modern scholars have missed some of the expressive nuances of the repertory. Although the techniques were not unique in of themselves, it is the delicate makeup of such an approach that characterizes the repertory. A clear and distinct embodiment of text seems to have shaped musical structure to a greater extent than has previously been acknowledged by modern scholars. Compositional consideration of the poetry went beyond expressive musical artifices and figures, and the reserved, dignified settings were a significant departure from the earlier *villancicos* and *romances* of the

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[45] King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales,*" 178-179.

[46] King's assumption implies a certain bias within the musicological discipline towards the elevation of musical procedure and correspondent lowering of extra-musical considerations regarding aesthetics. Gn this musicological bias, see Joseph Kerman's scathing critique of the dominant formalism in musicology until the 1980s in "How we got into analysis and how to get out," *Critical Inquiry* 7, 1980: 169-187; and for a review of post-Kerman music analysis, see Kofi Agawu, "Analyzing music under the new musicological regime," *Music Theory Online* Vol. 2.4 (1996).

Spanish vernacular song repertory. To a greater degree than in any other Spanish secular song genre to come before it, the text was the primary basis for musical setting.

Many works in MadM 6829 articulate text syntax and single out themes of special importance in order to convey passages of rhetorical gravity. Like contemporary Spanish motet settings, the works share a predilection for clarity of exegesis rather than stylistic decorum. Such doctrine is more aligned with the rhetoric of avant-garde Italian music theorist Nicola Vicentino than the Italian music theorist most often associated with the Italian madrigal tradition, Gioseffo Zarlino.[47] Zarlino advocated an aesthetic that balanced imitative polyphony and a particular beauty of style in order to achieve what he believed was the ultimate goal of expressive musical composition: decorum. Vicentino, on the other hand, wrote:

> The movement of the measure should be changed to slower or faster according to the words ... The experience of the orator teaches us to do this, for in his orations he speaks now loudly, now softly, now slowly, now quickly, and thus greatly moves the listeners; and this manner of changing measure has great effect upon the soul.[48]

Vicentino was calling for the primacy of text over style to convey its meaning, just as Nebrija preferred the orator over the poet for the same reasons, and differed from Zarlino's interpretation of the ideal musical portrayal of text.[49] It seems, then, that Spanish composers may too have preferred to express nuances of the text clearly and audibly, rather than adhere to Zarlino's aesthetic.

It seems fair to assume that rhetoricians would not have picked the Italianate settings in MadM 6829 as examples of rhetorical organization and affective power; the genre was

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[47] Borgerding, "The Motet," 214-229. On Zarlino and the Italian madrigal, see, for example, Martha Feldman, *City Culture and the Madrigal in Sixteenth Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of Califomia Press, 1995).

[48] Nicola Vicentino, *L' antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (1555), cited and translated in Claude V. Palisca, "Ut oratoria musica," in *Studies in the History of Italian Music and Music Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 287.

[49] For discussion on this polarity in sixteenth century musical theory see Palisca "Ut oratoria musica," 286; and Claude V. Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven, 1985).

not considered sufficiently grand. Nevertheless, many of the settings are exemplars of the musician as rhetorician; Guerrero's *Ojos claros y serenos* and Ceballos' *¡Amargas oras* were tightly organized according to the demands of the text, and they clearly and persuasively followed the text in their musical language. The ways in which poetic syntax, grammar, overall stylistic mode of expression, and various themes of the poetry have been shown to correspond with their musical settings suggest that music was indeed used as a rhetorical tool, manipulated to enhance the affects of a particular text. Musical expression was conceived according to the Vicentian and Nebrijan rhetoric in which Spanish composers were educated; a doctrine that favoured clarity and logic over stylistic concerns. Bermudo echoed this distinctive aesthetic in his call for composers to express the meaning of a text, suggesting: "in this matter, he who is a grammatician, poet, and rhetorician will understand best what I mean." [50]

[50] Bermudo, *Declaración,* cited and translated in Borgerding, "The Motet," 229.

Conclusion

This investigation has highlighted the nuanced qualities of the text-setting procedures of the Italianate settings contained in MadM 6829. Particularly, the attributes of musical expression are shown to have been tangibly connected to the Spanish traditions of vernacular poetry and rhetoric. The compositional considerations of text were commonly related to poetic artifices and themes, although the study has shown that several works display innovations with regard to consideration of higher level poetic features, such as mode of expression and rhetorical structure. The collection does not reveal, however, the beginnings of those types of stylistic developments seen in the Italian madrigal tradition that would go on to transform the Italian vernacular musical landscape. Instead, the intricate and nuanced text-music relationship that this study has revealed suggests that, rather that simply aping the Italian madrigal tradition, the Spanish composers used preexisting musical traditions from both foreign and local, and secular and sacred repertories.

By examining the particular types of poetry selected for musical settings in MadM 6829, this study has shown that many of the innovations that Spanish Petrarchists brought to the lyric tradition were avoided by Spanish composers when selecting poems for musical setting; Petrarch and his aesthetic seems to have played a less dominant role than in the wider literary tradition. Instead of Petrarchan conceits such as the "burning fires" of love and the "clear and serene" eyes of an idealized beloved - Spanish composers, for the most part, seem to have preferred the more reserved and restrained works in the Spanish Italianate repertory. Such poetry frequently included influences other than Petrarch, such as the *cancionero* and neoplatonic conceptions of love, and both classical and pastoral images. Although the Petrarchan oxymoron and its emotive evocations do feature in the repertory, the imagery in MadM 6829 is notably less vivid than the broader Spanish Petrarchan tradition. The intensity of the poetry in MadM 6829 was based on rational and logical

argument, not the emotional flights of imagination found in Petrarch 's *Canzoniere*. Clarity of poetic subjects seems to have been preferred over a more meandering, emotive style. The reasoned and clear poetic expression that the composers chose to work with was allied with their own distinctive musical expression, which was also direct and meaningful.

Rather than using chromaticism or other harmonic devices for expressive purposes, the composers of Italianate settings in MadM 6829 chose to maintain established musical language whilst expanding on the expressive musical artifices already codified in vernacular Spanish music. Ultimately, the lack of formal or stylistic experimentation with the neo-Petrarchan repertory probably hindered the development of the language of Spanish secular polyphony, which never saw changes like those that were seen in the second practice of the Italian madrigal. Similarly, the novelties introduced to the MadM 6829 repertory did not lead to a new approach to text-setting that would develop into a unique genre of "Spanish madrigals." The last Spanish madrigals to be printed, Pedro Rimonte's *El Parnaso español* (Antwerp, 1614), do not show any significant changes in their approach to text-setting from that in MadM 6829. Stylistically, the settings would not seem out of place in the manuscript, which was compiled at least fifty years earlier.[1]

The musical language of the Italianate settings in the manuscript bears a resemblance to the style of the early Italian madrigalists such as Arcadelt and Verdelot: clear alternation between homophony and animated polyphony, clearly marked cadences, through-composition, and adherence to one mode with little or no modulation or accidentals. Such similarities attest to the cultural exchanges and interconnectivity between Spain and the rest of Europe during the early sixteenth century.

Mimetic representations of poetic themes and ideas were common in MadM 6829, although they did not overwhelmingly dominate the settings. As shown in Chapter 3,

[1] Rosanne Cecilia King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* of Francisco Guerrero and the tradition of sacred song in Renaissance Spain" (PhD diss., University of Toronto), 146.

composers seem to have preferred musical mimicry of kinetic movement and physical or emotional attributes: of 72 settings of Italianate poetry (of a total of 101), 15 contain at least one, and often two, musical imitations of textual reference to movement, and 19 contain musical allegory to the attributes of poetic subjects. Less common, although nonetheless tangible, were musical mimeses of sound (seven settings). The madrigalism commonly referred to as "eye music," and which is specifically designed for the benefit of the performer, is only found in three settings, or half of those poems in which it may have been appropriate. The preference of immediately audible musical artifices over those concerns of aesthetics betrays a compositional aesthetic that favoured clear expression. When setting musical artifices, composers generally utilized immediately audible rhythmic, melodic, and textural manipulations to express textual features; harmonic manipulation was less frequently used for expressive effects.

The close attention paid by composers to musical form and style in the MadM 6829 repertory reveals a consideration of more than surface conceits of the poetry. When text-setting, composers demonstrably considered poetic grammar, syntax, and poetic modes of expression. Although such close attention was limited and inconsistent within the repertory, its mere presence indicates that previous scholarly investigations into the repertory have not fully considered the expressive nature of the text-music relationship in the repertory. The expressive coordination between poetic units of syntax and cadential patterning that this study identified in Chapter 4 attests to a compositional concern that stretched beyond artifice. Additionally, Chapter 4 identified other ways in which Spanish composers used musical declamation to demarcate important passages of text, which could range from a simple verbal exclamation such as "Ay!", to the musical articulation of emotional poetic climaxes or other significant features.

This study contributes to the small body of scholarly literature that examines the sixteenth century madrigal phenomenon in Spain by providing a detailed examination of the largest, and thus most significant manuscript collection of the repertory. Furthermore, findings could also be applied to broader considerations of how the Spanish cultural environment may have affected the composition of secular song in Spain during the sixteenth century. Indeed, the works have been shown to betray a peculiar Spanish aesthetic that warrants greater investigation into how musical expression and meaning was even conceived during this period.

The difficulties that scholars have encountered in dealing with the Spanish madrigal repertory lie in the musical similarities between the Spanish madrigals in MadM 6829 and the madrigals of the preceding generation of madrigalists based in Italy by Arcadelt, Verdelot and others. Randel warns against the implication that the lack of innovative harmonic or chromatic experimentation in the repertory should indicate its status as "peripheral" to the Italian madrigal phenomenon.[2] Indeed, there exists a parallel scholarly assumption in the history of Spanish painting from the same period:

> The study of artistic influence and interchange has tended to be neglected, in part because of a long-standing bias of western culture, which originated in the Renaissance, in favor of novelty and uniqueness. The emphasis on innovation in particular makes it very difficult to understand the phenomenon of artistic diffusion. Invention undeniably is important, but the way in which new ideas are spread and adapted is the other, and largely untold, part of the story of European art.[3]

This study has shown that Spanish composers conceived of a text-music relationship on very different terms than their Italian counterparts, thus affirming Randel's statement. Spanish taste, rather than peripheral status, played a large part in determining which aspects of the contemporary Italian madrigal the Spanish composers were to adopt.

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[2] Don M. Randel, "Sixteenth Century Polyphony and the poetry of Garcilaso" *The Musical Quarterly* 60, no. 1 (January, 1974): 78-79.

[3] Jonathan Brown, *The Golden Age 01 Painting in Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), vii.

The training in rhetoric and oratory that the composers in MadM 6829 were exposed to through their careers as church musicians seems to have affected the character of the compositional style. Spanish rhetoric favoured clarity over subtlety, and directness over aesthetic refinement. If we are able to say that Spanish polyphony from the Renaissance is of grave and restrained character, then perhaps we can attribute this disposition at least partially to the local preference for direct and measured expression. Instead of the Italian preoccupation with aesthetic concerns as central to musical expression, Spanish taste dictated that musical meaning take the form of a forcible, and immediately audible expression of textual meaning.

Indeed, Spanish poets and literary theorists themselves recognized some of the differences between the Spanish and Italian languages and modes of expression. Sixteenth Century poet Fernando de Herrera perhaps put it best, writing:

> The Tuscan language is very florid, rich, gentle, and composed; but free, lascivious, weak, and overly sentimental, and soft, and full of affectation ... But our language is grave, religious, upright, elevated, magnificent, smooth, tender, full of affection and sentiment, and so copious and abundant that no other can more justly pride itself on this richness and fecundity.[4]

Fernando de Herrera's words seem to speak for musical traditions, too. Both poetic and musical traditions were of restrained character. The results of this study suggest that there is a tangible correspondence between Spanish rhetorical traditions and artistic character. The rhetorical paradigms of Spanish composers, then, affected the character of their musical settings, both in terms of the poetry chosen, and the choice to work within established musical boundaries of expression. Such a form of expression was more suited to their needs than experimenting with harmonic or chromatic character of music, which was an Italian innovation marked by the composers' search for evermore expressive musical aesthetic.

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[4] Cited and translated by Randel, "Sixteenth Century Polyphony," 79.

If close readings of the wider Spanish Italianate repertory were to yield similar results to this study, then the theory linking Spanish rhetorical paradigms to musical expression could be legitimately hypothesized and expanded. The individual threads of Italianate influence could help us to understand the ways in which pan-European musical ideas penetrated, or rather, were modified and adopted in Spanish musical circles. We should consider the Spanish text-setting procedures on their own terms rather than measuring the achievements against an already-defined expressive musical language that we, as modern scholars, impose.

The results of this study should prompt a reinvestigation of the paradigms in which a composer may have conceived the nature of the text-music relationship within the repertory, which has previously been considered by modern scholars to be "peripheral" or even "backwards" when compared to the "progressive" Italian Renaissance tradition. Rather than imposing a rigid and temporally remote framework of musical expressivity, defined in terms of stylistic innovation rather than a nuanced cultural understanding, it would be more advantageous to reinvestigate the nature of musical expression in Renaissance Spain. As a result, perhaps even a particular Spanish religiosity would become visible, and help elucidate the, as yet, indefinable links between secular and sacred song repertories in Spain.

There are still many unanswered questions about the repertory of Spanish Italianate musical settings, and the meaning and place of secular song in Spanish society during the sixteenth century is not fully understood. Future research on the musical practices of Spanish noble households will no doubt resolve some of these issues. Spanish noble households certainly fostered local musicians and the production of secular song. Preliminary studies show, however, that indigenous genres of song may have been more actively fostered than the Italianate genres, which may have constrained the production of settings. Such a theory is supported by the fact that the majority of known Spanish

madrigalists were gainfully employed as church composers. Limitations imposed by their employment conditions must also have contributed to the small size of the repertory. During the sixteenth century, the best Spanish composers were employed by the Church, and were expected to produce large volumes of original work for performance within that setting. Further, since musicians were mainly employed by the Church rather than by the courts, the copying of secular music and compilation into secular anthologies may have been restricted. This situation may be contrasted to the sustaining patronage that Italian composers received from Italian nobility, which facilitated the rapid growth and development of secular courtly music.

Further work must be done, too, on the relations between Spain and Italy during the mid to late sixteenth century in order to better understand the repertory of MadM 6829. For example, while we know that it was common practice to hire Italian artisans for painting or architectural work, it seems that fewer Italian musicians and poets were hired in Spain. We may question why this may have been the case, and what were the consequences of such decisions. This is particularly interesting when we consider that Spain governed portions of Italy at the time, and, as such, may have encountered political power struggles if the administration admitted that Italian musicians may have been superior to Spaniards in relation to certain musical roles.

In order to investigate the place of secular song in Spanish society, further investigation into the cathedral archives of major and minor Spanish cities is an imperative, along with a reinterpretation of the work that was begun in the early years of the twentieth century. The existence of confraternities or academies in Spain is an area of investigation in art history scholarship that has only just begun to be undertaken, and has not even been broached in musicological scholarship. The intricate links between art, music, rhetoric, religiosity, and society have only been alluded to in this study, but interdisciplinary research

will provide the way forward to a more comprehensive understanding of the construction of musical meaning and the cultural significance of music in sixteenth century Spain.

Appendix 1. Contents of *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*.

No.	Incipit	Voice	Composer
No.	**Incipit**	**Voices**	**Composer[a]**
1	***Ojos claros y serenos***	**4**	**Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)**
2	*Sábete, linda zagala*	4	Anonymous
3	***Lágrimas de mi consuelo***	**4**	**Antonio Cebrían**
4	*Por ese mar d'Helesponto*	4	Anonymous
5	***Claros y frescos ríos***	**3**	**Anonymous**
6	*[No text]*	3	Anonymous
7	*Puse mis amores*	4	Anonymous
8	*A beinte y siete de março*	4	Anonymous
9	*Di, perra mora*	4	Anonymous
10	*¿Qué se hizo, Juan, tu placer?*	4	Anonymous
11	***Llaman a Teresica***	**4**	**Anonymous**
12	***O dulçe suspiro mío***	**3**	**Anonymous**
13	***Amargas oras de los dulces días***	**5**	**Rodrigo de Ceballos**
14	***Fresco y claro arroyuelo***	**3**	**Francisco Guerrero**
15	***Hermosa Catalina***	**3**	**Francisco Guerrero**
16	***Ten cuenta, amor***	**3**	**Francisco Guerrero**
17	***Y dize a tu pesar***	**3**	**Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)**
18	***Amor andava triste***	**3**	**Francisco Guerrero**
19	***Carillo, si tú quisieres***	**4**	**Diego Garçon**
20	*Gasajoso está Carillo*	4	Diego Garçon
21	*Amor çiego y atrevido*	4	Diego Garçon
22	*Clemente jura va a tal*	4	Diego Garçon
23	*¿Viste, Gil, a mi zagala?*	4	Didacus Garçon
24	*Llorad conmigo, pastores*	4	Didacus Garçon
25	*Cavallero, si a Francia ides*	4	Anonymous
26	***Buelve tus claros ojos***	**4**	**Juan Navarro**
27	***Como por alto mar tenpestuoso***	**4**	**Ginés de Morata**
28	***¿Haste casado Anilla?***	**3**	**Anonymous**
29	***Tu dulçe canto, Silvia,***	**3**	**Anonymous**
30	***Ojos que ya no véis***	**4**	**Ginés de Morata**
31	***Aquí me declaró su pensamiento***	**4**	**Ginés de Morata**
32	*Pues que no puedo olvidarte*	3	Ginés de Morata
33	***Navego en hondo mar***	**4**	**Bernal Gonçales**
34	***Ninpha gentil***	**4**	**Ginés de Morata**
35	***¡Ay de mí, sin ventura!***	**4**	**Juan Navarro**
36	***Acaba ya, zagala***	**3**	**Anonymous**
37	***Ojos hermosos, amorosillos, graves,***	**4**	**Rodrigo de Ceballos-Varrio Nuevo**
38	*Para misa nueva*	3	Ginés de Morata
39	***Aquella boz de Cristo***	**4**	**Anonymous**

No.	Incipit	Voice	Composer
40	*Aquella fuerça grande*	4	Anonymous
41	*A su alvedrío*	3	Anonymous
42	*Pues que me tienes, Miguel*	4	Ortega
43	*Por do començaré mi triste llanto*	4	Pedro Guerrero
44	*Prado verde y florido*	4	Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)
45	*Sobre una peña do la mar batía*	4	Juan Navarro
46	*O más dura que marmol a mis quexas*	4	Pedro Guerrero
47	*En el campo me metí*	4	Ginés de Morata
48	*¡Quién me dixera, Elisa, vida mía,*	4	Fray Juan Díaz
49	*Rosales, mirtos, plátanos y flores,*	4	Anonymous (= Rodrigo de
50	*Siendo míos, dí, pastora*	4	Juan Navarro
51	*Corten espadas afiladas*	4	Anonymous
52	*Llamo a la muerte*	3	Ginés de Morata
53	*Dulcíssima María*	4	Anonymous
54	*Descuidado de cuidado*	4	Ginés de Morata
55	*¡Ay soledad amarga!*	4	Juan Navarro
56	*¿A quién no matará sólo un olvido?*	4	Anonymous
57	*Tú me robaste*	3	Ginés de Morata
58	*Alégrate, Isabel*	4	Gerónimo
59	*Tu dorado cabello*	3	Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)
60	*Beatriz, ¿cómo es posible?*	3	Guerrero (Pedro or Francisco?)
61	*La rubia pastorçica*	3	Ginés de Morata
62	*Esos tus claros ojos*	3	Ginés de Morata
63	*Rosales, mirtos, plátanos y flores,*	4	Rodrigo de Ceballos
64	*Socórreme, pastora,*	4	Antonio Cebrían
65	*Dí, Gil, ¿qué siente Juan*	3	Antonio Cebrían
66	*Requerde el alma dormida (no music)*	?	Anonymous
67	*Cristalía, una pastora enamorada*	4	F. Chacón
68	*Estávase Marfida*	4	Anonymous
69	*Quan bienaventurado*	4	Rodrigo de Ceballos
70	*Huyd, huyd, o çiegos amadores,*	4	Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)
71	*Marfira, por vos muero*	4	Anonymous
72	*Intolerable rayo*	4	Anonymous
73	*Juana, yo juro a fe*	4	Anonymous
74	*Duro mál, terrible llanto*	4	Anonymous (= Rodrigo de Ceballos)
75	*Dime, manso viento,*	4	Anonymous (= Rodrigo de Ceballos)
76	*No ves, amor, que esta gentil moçuela*	4	Anonymous (= Juan Navarro)
77	*Los ojos puestos en el alto cielo*	3	Anonymous
78	*¡Luisa de mi alma!*	3	Anonymous
79	*Dexó la venda, el arco y el aljava*	4	Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)
80	*¿A qué vienes, tirano?*	3	Anonymous

No.	Incipit	Voice	Composer
81	***Olvidaste, zagala, aqueste apero***	**4**	**Anonymous**
82	*Carillo, ¿quiéresme bien?*	4	Anonymous
83	***Pasando el mar Leandro el animoso.***	**4**	**Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)**
84	***Leonor, enferma estavas y llorosa***	**3**	**Anonymous**
85	***Catalina sin par***	**3**	**Anonymous**
86	***Parlera sois así, señora Juana***	**4**	**Anonymous**
87	***Hermosa pastorçilla***	**3**	**Anonymous**
88	***Frescura soberana***	**3**	**Anonymous**
89	***¡Ay de mí, sin ventura!***	**4**	**Anonymous (= Juan Navarro)**
90	***Divina ninpha mía***	**4**	**Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)**
91	*¿Dónde se sufre, Juana*	4	Anonymous
92	***Esclarecida Juana***	**4**	**Anonymous (= Francisco Guerrero)**
93	***Ribera el sacro Darro***	**4**	**Anonymous (= Juan Navarro)**
94	***Manso viento que con dulçe rruído***	**4**	**Anonymous**
95	***El fresco y manso viento***	**4**	**Anonymous**
96	***Ilustre silva, fértil y abundante***	**4**	**Anonymous**
97	***El fresco ayre del favor humano***	**3**	**Anonymous**
98	***¡Ay Jesús, qué mal fraile***	**4**	**Anonymous**
99	***Hermosa Magdalena***	**3**	**Anonymous**
100	***Siendo de amor Susana***	**5**	**Anonymous**
101	***Hermosa Catalina***	**4**	**Anonymous**

Incipits in bold typeface are the Italianate settings, whilst the remaining works are Spanish villancicos, romances, or traditional canciones.

a Composer names in brackets indicate the identification of a composer through concordant works.
b Herminio González Barrionuevo states that this work was actually written by Francisco Guerrero.

Source: Data from *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli,* ed. Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la Música Española 8/9 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949-50), 16-21; Herminio González Barrionuevo, *Francisco Guerrero (1528-1599) vida y obra: La música en la catedral de Sevilla a finales del siglo XVI* (Seville: Cabildo Metropolitano de la Catedral de Sevilla, 2000), 561-563.

Appendix II. Concordant sources to MadM 6829

VallaC 255	Valladolid. Catedral Metropolitana, Archivo de Música, MS 255 - alto partbook
PueblaC	Puebla (Mexico) Archivo de Música Sacra de la Catedral MS XIX
Galdiano	Madrid, Museo Lázaro Galdiano, 15411 - single soprano manuscript partbook
Esteban Daza	*El Parnasso* (Valladolid, 1576)
Miguel de Fuenllana	*Orphenica lyra* (Seville, 1554)
Enríquez de Valderrábano	*Silva de Sirenas* (Valladolid, 1547)
Francisco Guerrero	*Canciones y villanescas espirituales* (Venice, 1589)
Soto de Langa	*Il primo libro delle laude spirituali* (Rome, 15XX) with sacred Italian texts
Soto de Langa	*Il secondo libro delle laude spirituali* (Rome, 1583) with sacred Italian texts
Soto de Langa	*Il terzo libro delle laudi spirituali* (Rome, 1588) with sacred Italian texts
Orlando de Lassus	*Tiers libre des chansons* [. . .] *composez par Orlando di Laissus* [. . .] *convenables tant aux instrumentz comme á la voix* (Louvain: 1560)

No.	***Cancionero de Medinaceli***	**Secular concordances**	**Sacred concordances**
1	*Ojos claros y serenos*	VallaC 255 f. 13v; Galdiano 15411 f. 25v; Fuenllana f. 143	Guerrero no. 34
35	*¡Ay de mí, sin ventura!*	VallaC 255 f. 3v; Galdiano 15411 f. 28v-29; Daza f. 85v	
43	*Por do començaré mi triste llanto*	Fuenllana f. 127	
44	*Prado verde y florido*	VallaC 255 f. 18; Galdiano 15411 f. 21v; Daza f. 83; PueblaC 19 f. 141	Guerrero no. 43; Langa *Il terzo*, f. 34
49	*Rosales, mirtros, plátanos y flores*	VallaC 255 f. 15v	
51	*Corten espadas afiladas*	Valderrábano, I.II, f. 22	
59	*Tu dorado cabello*		Guerrero no. 54; Langa *Il secondo*, f. 28v

No.	*Cancionero de Medinaceli*	Secular concordances	Sacred concordances
69	*Quan bienaventurado*	VallaC 255 f. 6v; Daza f. 81v	
70	*Huyd, Huyd*		Guerrero no. 45
74	*Duro mal terrible llanto*	Galdiano 15411 f. 17; Daza f. 91v	
75	*Dime, manso viento*	Galdiano 15411 f. 14v; Daza f. 93	
76	*No ves, amor,*	Galdiano 15411 f. 28; Daza f. 89	
79	*Dexó la venda*	VallaC 255 f. 18v; Galdiano 15411 f. 16v	Guerrero no. 36; Langa *Il primo*, f. 51-53
83	*Pasando el mar*	Fuenllana f. 126	
90	*Divina ninpha mía*	VallaC f. 17	Guerrero no. 42
92	*Esclarecida Juana*	Galdiano 15411 f. 30; Daza f. 90v; PueblaC 19, f. 139	Guerrero no. 38; Langa *Il secondo*, f. 49
93	*Ribera el sacro Darro*	VallaC 255 f. 7v & 9v	
96	*Ilustre silva*	VallaC 255 f. 17v	
98	*¡Ay Jesús, qué mal fraile*	VallaC 255 f. 2v	

Sources: *Cancionero musical de la Casa de Medinaceli*, ed. Miguel Querol Gavaldá, Monumentos de la Música Española 8 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Musicología, 1949-50), 15-30; Rosanne King, "The *Canciones y villanescas espirituales* of Francisco Guerrero and sacred song in Renaissance Spain," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2004), 13-14; and John Griffiths, "The Transmission of Secular Polyphony," in *Encomium Musicae: A Festschrift in Honor of Robert J. Snow*, ed. David Crawford & G. Grayson Wagstaff (New York: Pendragon Press, 2002), 324-325. Wherever possible, these sources were cross-checked against each other and modern editions of concordant sources.

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